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American Public Opinion and the Portsmouth Peace Conference

WINSTON B. THORSON*

THE Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 marked the high point of the golden era of American-Japanese relations. When the rival imperialisms of tsar and mikado clashed in eastern Asia, American sympathy, both official and popular, was overwhelmingly with Japan.[1] Japan, America's protégé, was fighting, it was believed, for self-preservation against a vicious despotism which had provoked the war, for a part in the development and modernization of eastern Asia, and for the independence and integrity of China. Victory

*The author is associate professor of history in the State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

[1] Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1946), pp. 564–65; Edward H. Zabriskie, *American-Russian Rivalry in the Far East: A Study in Diplomacy and Power Politics, 1895–1914* (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 103–11; Foster R. Dulles, *The Road to Teheran* (Princeton, 1944), p. 88; A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (New York, 1938), p. 104; Eleanor Tupper and George E. McReynolds, *Japan in American Public Opinion* (New York, 1937), pp. 4–9; Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik* (New York, 1935), II, 1184–90; Alfred P. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896–1906* (New York, 1928), p. 361; Tyler Dennett, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War* (Garden City, 1925), pp. 120, 143–44, 167–68, 238. For a regional study, see this writer's "Pacific Northwest Opinion on the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXV (October, 1944), 305–22.

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for Japan, it was also believed, would mean a greatly strengthened Japanese position in the Far East, but as Japan wished no monopoly of Asiatic trade, the Open Door would be preserved and extended. Since this was precisely the basic policy of the United States in the East, it was felt that the Japanese were fighting our battle and would reward America for the good will and sympathy extended ever since Commodore Perry's opening of the country.[2]

Eighteen months of Japanese victories found the Russian government ready to discuss peace terms, and through the good offices of President Theodore Roosevelt, Russian and Japanese delegates met in America, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in August, 1905. There, after three weeks, under the guiding hand of the American President and the watchful eye of the American public, the commissioners reached agreement and the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed.[3] The period of the Portsmouth Conference, it has long been claimed, witnessed an amazingly sudden and dramatic shift in American public opinion on the issues of the war and the terms of the peace.

The accepted account is that, when the severe Japanese peace terms were presented at Portsmouth, the American public realized that its confidence in the altruism and high purposes of the Japanese had been misplaced. Then, with the chief Russian delegate, Serge Witte, skillfully exploiting the situation and influencing the American press in favor of Russia, the American public became anti-Japanese and pro-Russian. This shift was then allegedly a large factor in forcing Japan's retreat on several major issues of the peace discussions and in bringing agreement on a treaty highly favorable to Russia, to the delight of the American people. This change in American opinion, it has been claimed furthermore, was the significant dividing point in American-Japanese relations, for restoration of the former confidence and good feeling was henceforth impossible.

The statements describing this alteration of American public opinion have been categorical:

[2] This comment was typical: "The beneficial results to the Far East of Japanese victory can hardly be exaggerated. . . . Japan stands for the essentials of Anglo-Saxon civilization. She emphasizes the inherent value and rights of the individual, his freedom of travel, of occupation, of intellectual and religious belief, of universal education and of representative government. . . . Japan stands also for free industrial and commercial intercourse . . . for the territorial integrity of China. . ." Sidney Lewis Gulick, *The White Peril in the Far East: An Interpretation of the Significance of the Russo-Japanese War* (New York, 1905), pp. 155–56.

[3] For the official position of the United States during the war, see Payson J. Treat, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1853–1905* (Stanford, 1938), III, 201–43. For the background of the Peace Conference, see Dennett, pp. 170–235. For the Conference, see *ibid.*, pp. 236–77; Zabriskie, pp. 121–30. Official protocols in *Protocoles de la Conférence de Paix entre le Japon et la Russie* (Tokyo, 1906), and *Protocols of the Portsmouth Conference* (St. Petersburg, 1906).

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Japan utterly failed in preparing public opinion for its terms of peace. Witte studied the technique of handling the newspapers with consummate wisdom. . . . [Japan] was now to reap the harvest of having broken faith . . . with a sympathetic public.

The Russian delegation . . . began to win favor in the American press and one of the most astonishing shifts in public opinion took place. America from a pro-Japanese country became almost overnight friendly to Russian contentions.

American public opinion was decidedly pro-Japanese during the war, but through Witte's wisely planned diplomacy the situation was in large measure reversed before the close of the negotiations.

American opinion was strongly pro-Japanese and indeed remained so until the peace conference, when it gave way to sympathy for the Russians. . . . [Witte] won the American press dramatically to his side.

During the peace conference at Portsmouth, the Russians . . . turned the tables on Japan and manipulated the press. . . . Almost overnight the sympathies of the American people shifted from Japan to Russia.

The conference had scarcely got under way before the weather vane of American public opinion, swayed by the winds of the press, began to undergo a change . . . [and, at the close of the Conference] American enthusiasm for the Russian success took its customary exuberant form.[4]

The basis for this view has been, almost entirely, the accounts of the Portsmouth Conference written by the members of the Russian delegation.[5] These give a seemingly authentic picture of a sudden turn in American public opinion in favor of Russia. F. de Martens, Russian jurist and adviser to Witte at Portsmouth, wrote, "From the moment the newspaper world in the United States was convinced that Russia had the right to respect for its interests and dignity, the American Press changed its attitude, perceiving that only by respecting these just requirements of Russia could there be any hope of securing peace."[6] Baron R. R. Rosen, the Russian ambassador to the United States and second to Witte in the Russian delegation, stated that while nine tenths

[4] Quotations: Dennett, pp. 238, 248–49; Dennis, p. 410; Paul H. Clyde, *International Rivalries in Manchuria, 1689–1922* (Columbus, 1926), p. 99; Griswold, p. 104; Thomas A. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crises* (Stanford, 1934), pp. 5–6, and *Diplomatic History*, p. 567; Zabriskie, pp. 122, 128. See also Vagts, II, 1228; Treat, III, 271; S. A. Korff, *Russia's Foreign Relations during the Last Half Century* (New York, 1922), p. 88; Randolph G. Adams, *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United States* (New York, 1926), p. 344; Payson J. Treat, *Japan and the United States* (Stanford, 1928), p. 188; Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1931), p. 387; Charles W. Smith, *Public Opinion in a Democracy* (New York, 1939), p. 516; Foster R. Dulles, *Forty Years of American-Japanese Relations* (New York, 1937), pp. 72–73; John H. Latané and David W. Wainhouse, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1940), p. 573; Harold H. Fisher, *America and Russia in the World Community* (Claremont, 1946), p. 38; Vera Micheles Dean, *The United States and Russia* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 9–10.

[5] *E.g.*, see Dennett, p. 238 n. Other writers have based their accounts substantially upon Dennett's definitive study.

[6] "The Portsmouth Peace Conference," *North American Review*, CLXXXI (November, 1905), 646–47.

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of the reporters at Portsmouth favored Japan at the beginning of the Conference, they shifted to Russia in about that same proportion during the meeting.[7] E. J. Dillon, St. Petersburg correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* who was attached to the Russian delegation as a publicity agent, claimed that the shifting American opinion was so strong a factor that President Roosevelt used it to influence the Japanese to come to terms.[8] J. J. Korostovetz, secretary to Witte at Portsmouth, recorded in his Conference diary the influence of Witte upon the American press and a day-by-day shift of American opinion in favor of Russia.[9]

It was Count Witte himself, however, who made the most unqualified assertion of a change in American public opinion.[10] Witte told how his calculated plan to ingratiate himself with the American people, combined with the aloofness and secrecy of the Japanese delegates, produced highly significant results:

> American public opinion, upon the whole, was on our enemy's side. . . . I may say that I succeeded in swerving American public opinion over to us. By my course of action I gradually won the press over, . . . so that when I left the trans-atlantic republic practically the whole press was on our side. The press, in its turn, was

[7] *Forty Years of Diplomacy* (London, 1922), I, 267. This is probably overstatement, but Witte did impress the Portsmouth correspondents (see Dennett, pp. 261–63) and did receive better news coverage for Russia than at any time during the war.

[8] Emile J. Dillon, "The Story of the Peace Negotiations," *Contemporary Review,* LXXXVIII (October, 1905), 475. In his book, *The Eclipse of Russia* (New York, 1918), p. 303, Dillon quotes Andrew M. Pooley, ed., *The Secret Memoirs of Count Tadasu Hayashi* (New York, 1915), pp. 233–34. Hayashi, who was Japanese minister at London in 1905, said, "It was Dr. Dillon who controlled the American press for the benefit of de Witte . . . in creating a favourable public opinion. He did it almost entirely by relying on the influence of the American papers." Some other Japanese believed in a manipulation of American public opinion by the Russian diplomats; see Masujiro Honda, "The Evolution of Japanese Diplomacy," *Japan and Japanese-American Relations,* ed. by George H. Blakeslee (New York, 1912), p. 230. Others, however, made no reference to Portsmouth and found more basic issues—economic rivalry and immigration—responsible for less friendly American-Japanese relations after the Russo-Japanese War. Inazo Nitobé, *The Japanese Nation* (New York, 1912), p. 288; Iichiro Tokutomi, *Japanese-American Relations* (New York, 1922), pp. 52, 57, 62; Michimasa Soyeshima, "Japan's Relations with the United States," *Oriental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 69–70; Yusuke Tsurumi, "American Foreign Policy from a Japanese Viewpoint," *Interpretations of American Foreign Policy* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 164–65.

[9] *Pre-War Diplomacy: The Russo-Japanese Problem* (London, 1920). Excerpts: Aug. 18: "I considered it of greatest importance to bring the American papers over to our side; . . . this has already been partly attained" (p. 86); Aug. 22: "The growing sympathy towards us is shown in the papers" (p. 95); Aug. 27: "Public opinion in the States is coming over to the side of Russia" (p. 103); Aug. 29: "The Russians are treated as the heroes of the day; we are no more an object of pity. Our American friends explain that they had from the beginning preferred us to the Japs" (p. 112).

[10] Prior to publication of Witte's *Memoirs* in 1921, American writers had marked the Russo-Japanese War as the high point of cordial American-Japanese relations, but made no mention of a sudden shift of opinion during the Portsmouth Conference. See, *e.g.,* Archibald C. Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power* (New York, 1909), pp. 347–71; David Starr Jordan, "Relations of Japan and the United States," *Japan and Japanese-American Relations,* p. 6; Carl Crow, *Japan and America* (New York, 1916), pp. 184–85; Stanley K. Hornbeck, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East* (New York, 1916), p. 362.

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instrumental in bringing about a complete change in the public opinion of the country—in favor of my person and of the cause I upheld.[11]

These statements seem to leave little question as to the decisive alteration in American opinion. Yet, when one turns to the most likely sources for confirmation, these sources are silent and that confirmation is lacking. There is no indication of a shift of the American public to an anti-Japanese view in the official protocols issued by the Japanese and Russian governments,[12] or in the extensive documents concerning the Portsmouth Conference published by the most interested neutral countries—the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany.[13] Nor is there evidence of such a phenomenon in the published papers of President Theodore Roosevelt,[14] or of George von Lengerke Meyer, United States ambassador at St. Petersburg,[15] or of Lloyd C. Griscom, United States minister at Tokyo,[16] or of J. J. Jusserand, French ambassador at Washington, or Cecil Spring-Rice, British ambassador at St. Petersburg, both friends and confidants of Theodore Roosevelt.[17] Nor do the biographers of Elihu Root, the Secretary of State,[18] or of Horace N. Allen, American minister to Korea,[19] mention such a development. Perhaps strangest of all, the Associated Press executive Melville E. Stone, who played a considerable behind-the-scenes part in bringing the Russians and Japanese together, made no reference to any shift in American public sentiment[20]—for which the press he represented was supposedly responsible.

The failure of these obvious sources to corroborate the accounts of the Russian delegates emphasizes the narrow foundation upon which the view of an extensively altered American public opinion has been based. It rests upon the testimony of a group of Russians who were interested primarily

[11] *The Memoirs of Count Witte* (New York, 1921), pp. 140–41.

[12] See note 3 above.

[13] *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1905* (Washington, 1906), pp. 818–22; *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898–1914,* IV (London, 1929), 96–111; *Documents diplomatiques français, 1871–1914,* 2d series, VII (Paris, 1937), 384–547 *passim; Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871–1914,* XIX, pt. II (Berlin, 1927), 614–30.

[14] *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York, 1913), pp. 583–87; Joseph B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time* (New York, 1920), I, 401–24.

[15] M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *George von Lengerke Meyer* (New York, 1919), pp. 187–209. Meyer did note with pleasure the "splendid reception" which Witte received personally in America (p. 202).

[16] Lloyd C. Griscom, *Diplomatically Speaking* (Boston, 1940), pp. 234–65.

[17] J. J. Jusserand, *What Me Befell* (New York, 1933), pp. 303–305; Stephen Gwynn, ed., *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice* (New York, 1929), I, 441–504; II, 1–11.

[18] Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root* (New York, 1938), II, 3–6. Root was on a Canadian vacation, and played no part in the events of the Conference.

[19] Fred Harvey Harrington, *God, Mammon, and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884–1905* (Madison, 1944), p. 234.

[20] *Fifty Years a Journalist* (New York, 1922), pp. 284–96.

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in the use they could make of their real or fancied successes at Portsmouth to advance their fortunes at the tsarist court, or who believed honestly, if naïvely, that the friendly attitude of a half hundred American newsmen at Portsmouth denoted a reversal of the American public attitude on the issues of the war and the peace. An adequate appraisal of that public opinion demands an investigation of the views of the American press which allegedly led in the sudden turn from pro-Japanese to pro-Russian sentiments.[21] The results summarized in this paper derive from an intensive analysis for the period of the Portsmouth Conference of the editorial policies of some fifty representative newspapers from all sections of the United States and of all the major periodicals of the day. This makes clear that there was no shift of American public opinion of the kind or degree claimed.

Such major papers as the New York *Sun,* the New York *World,* the New York *American,* the Boston *Herald,* the Springfield *Republican,* the Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* the Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* the Atlanta *Constitution,* the New Orleans *Picayune,* the St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* the Denver *Rocky Mountain News,* the Salt Lake City *Deseret News,* the Spokane *Spokesman-Review,* and the San Francisco *Chronicle* are representative of the great majority of the newspaper press which remained consistently pro-Japanese throughout the period of the Conference. A small minority, of which the Baltimore *Sun* and the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* are examples, were not unfriendly to Russia, mainly because of the personal popularity of Witte, while the New York *Times* became suddenly aware during the Conference that Japan could be a formidable commercial rival in the Far East. But these few do not mark by any means a reversal in American opinion. These papers, too, recognized Japan's "just claims," they continued to fear Russian Asiatic imperialism, and they applauded energetically the "magnanimous" Japanese concessions for peace. A real pro-Russian attitude on the Conference was to be found in that rare journal, such as the Los Angeles *Times,* which had been in favor of Russia since the beginning of the war. Finally, to balance whatever change of sentiment could be claimed from these few papers, there were several, such as the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and the Omaha *World-Herald,* which before the Conference opened were fairly neutral and which were critical at first of the Japanese terms, but which shifted to unqualified support of the Japanese position before the Conference was concluded.

[21] One study has been made of the press during the Portsmouth Conference; see Tupper and McReynolds, pp. 11–18. The treatment is superficial and the impression left is no different from those cited above (see note 4).

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In the weeks preceding the Conference, it was generally agreed in the press that Russia's defeat was absolutely decisive, that history afforded "no other spectacle of a war into which one of the contestants . . . entered with so much bounce and swagger and from which he has emerged so abject and besmirched," and that Russia was "a nation vanquished on land and sea, with its credit exhausted, its crops failing, its feeble dynasty and uncertain institutions tottering, and its very existence threatened by the flames of anarchy and revolution."[22] A very few papers warned that extreme severity on the part of Japan would stiffen Russian resistance and might alter the world's high regard for Japan.[23] But the great majority wanted to bring the Russian tsardom to its fullest accounting, to pay, said the New York *Sun*, for

> the duplicity and perfidy which evaded a written promise to evacuate Manchuria; the greed which encouraged palace favorites to ravage the timber resources of Corea; the arrogance and insolence with which the respectful protests of Japan were repelled . . . [and which finally] drove Japan to war in self-defense.[24]

In similar vein, the New York *World* stressed that Russian internal conditions were bound up with peace decisions:

> The truest hearts, the ablest minds in the beaten nation itself, if they could make themselves heard from out the darkness and the silence of the living tomb which tyranny has built around them, would [say] . . . "The greater the humiliation of Russian autocracy . . . the nearer chance will grow of relief and reform for the Russian people." . . . A "generous peace" which should leave Russian militarism strong for repression would be . . . making war upon human liberty.[25]

Pre-Conference theorizing on the terms which Japan would offer showed how correctly the American press anticipated them and how completely they were prepared to support them. It was expected that Japan would require Russian renunciation of Korea and Manchuria, transfer to Japan of the Liaotung leasehold, surrender of all or part of the Chinese Eastern railway, limitation upon the Russian navy in eastern waters, retrocession of the island of Sakhalin, and a money indemnity to cover the costs of the war, estimated at from six hundred million to a billion dollars.[26] Some foresaw and found

[22] New York *Sun*, Aug. 2; St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, Aug. 8; Omaha *World-Herald*, Aug. 9; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Aug. 11. (All dates here and hereafter, 1905.)

[23] Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 4, 7; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Aug. 1, 8; Los Angeles *Times*, Aug. 9; *Review of Reviews*, XXXII (August), 132; *Public Opinion*, XXXIX (July 22, 29), 113, 141.

[24] Aug. 2.

[25] Aug. 3.

[26] New York *World*, Aug. 7; New York *American*, Aug. 7; Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 8; Boston *Herald*, July 30; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Aug. 5; Atlanta *Constitution*, Aug. 1; New Orleans *Picayune*, Aug. 3; St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, Aug. 2; Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, Aug. 9; Portland *Oregonian*, July 29; Tacoma *News*, Aug. 3; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Aug. 3; *Outlook*, LXXX (Aug. 12), 891–92. Even those papers pleading for leniency expected this much; Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 7; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Aug. 1.

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no fault with other demands, which went well beyond what the Japanese were to ask—the permanent disarmament or the cession of Vladivostok, free navigation of the Amur river, control of the Russian Pacific coast from Vladivostok to the Amur.[27]

On the four most important items—Korea, Manchuria, Sakhalin, and the indemnity—Japan's case was fully sanctioned. It was conceded that Korea, "delivered from [Russian] oppression," would "hereafter be a dependency of the victorious Japanese,"[28] and that, while legally Manchuria would be returned to China, Japan was "in Manchuria to stay," and would "remain there with the approbation of the Chinese people." Equal commercial privileges for all nations, which the Russians had tried to curtail, would now prevail in Manchuria, although the Japanese naturally would use every legitimate means to expand their own markets there.[29] Permanent Japanese retention of the island of Sakhalin (occupied by Japanese troops) was regarded as vital to the future security of Japan, as desirable because of its coal and fisheries, and as fair because it would be the return of territory seized by Russia through "fraud and duplicity" a quarter century before.[30] Finally, the payment by Russia of a money indemnity to cover Japan's war expenditures was held "highly reasonable," justified "as a matter of course" on the grounds that Russia had been the aggressor in the war, that Bismarck had taken a similarly large sum from France in 1871, and that Russia's Asiatic possessions were "at the mercy of her enemy."[31] The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* declared,

[27] Atlanta *Constitution*, Aug. 1; New Orleans *Picayune*, Aug. 3, 8; Portland *Oregonian*, Aug. 4. In answer to Thomas F. Millard's prediction of severe Japanese terms in *Scribner's Magazine*, XXXVIII (August), 240–51, the Atlanta *Constitution* (Aug. 1) declared that "Japan could not be expected to demand less, and it will be no surprise to the world if she demands considerably more." Actually, this Millard article, written in Tokyo before the Conference opened, showed remarkable grasp of the situation. Millard declared that the strong pro-Japanese sympathies in the United States were due primarily to astute cultivation by the Japanese; "in fact, there is probably no parallel . . . in the absence of direct use of money . . . to the manner by which the press of America . . . has been 'worked' by the Japanese Government" (p. 244). He challenged the belief that Japanese public opinion and political activity were free and liberal; instead, Japan was "entirely under the control of the military party" (pp. 247–48, 251). He claimed that Japan had gone to war for no altruistic purpose, but to keep coveted Asiatic territory out of Russian hands, and he warned of the dangers in further Japanese aggrandizement (pp. 245–46, 248–51). These views apparently had as little acceptance in the United States as had occasional similar revelations during the war. See Thorson, "Pacific Northwest Opinion on the Russo-Japanese War," *op. cit.*, pp. 312 n., 314 n.

[28] Boston *Herald*, Aug. 7.

[29] Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, Aug. 6; Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, Aug. 9; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Aug. 5.

[30] Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 6; Boston *Herald*, Aug. 7; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Aug. 5; Atlanta *Constitution*, Aug. 4; Tacoma *Ledger*, July 22; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, July 11.

[31] Boston *Herald*, Aug. 3, 9; Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 5; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Aug. 5; Atlanta *Constitution*, Aug. 4; Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, Aug. 2, 10; Portland *Oregonian*, Aug. 4; San Francisco *Chronicle*, July 31.

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Japan's right to a war indemnity seems to be universally conceded. . . . The western nations . . . have made war indemnities fashionable in the past 50 years, and especially have they imposed them without mercy upon the nations of the Orient. . . . The West cannot complain if Japan makes peace strictly in accord with western ideas of peacemaking.[32]

Approval of these terms of peace, moreover, carried clear recognition that a settlement based upon them would inaugurate Japanese dominion and influence over a great area. The Portland *Oregonian* declared that if Japan seized the opportunity

to establish a Japanese Empire on the mainland of Asia, embracing Corea and Manchuria, Amur and Sakhalin, . . . there need be no surprise. . . . The island empire has a right to . . . satisfy her ambitions of hegemony on the shores of the continent . . . [and to] forever put a quietus to the bear's encroachments upon the Far East.[33]

An *Atlantic Monthly* writer believed that Japan might "borrow a leaf from the history of the United States, and . . . declare an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine . . . to prevent the increase or further establishment of European authority in that part of Asia."[34] This new Japan, announced the Boston *Herald,* now became "the predominating Asiatic power" with which Germany and France, and even England, might "some day come into conflict," but with which it was "the duty of American statesmen to remain on the friendliest terms."[35]

Less space was given to, but considerable perspicacity was shown in, comment on the repercussions in Europe of the Japanese victory. For example, the New Orleans *Picayune* noted that the position of imperial Germany was greatly enhanced by the Russian military exhaustion, while the position of France was seriously weakened by the defeat and loss of prestige of its Russian ally, and that France would be more anxious than before to develop the Entente Cordiale into a close alliance with Great Britain, an arrangement over which London still hesitated.[36]

There were editorials, primarily in the California papers, demonstrating the steady emergence of the Japanese racial issue in the United States[37] and advocating federal action to curb a flood of postwar Japanese immigration.[38]

[32] Aug. 4.
[33] Aug. 7, 8.
[34] Chester Holcombe, "Some Results of the Eastern War," *Atlantic Monthly,* XCVI (July), 24–30.
[35] Aug. 9.
[36] Aug. 4, 8.
[37] The agitation had begun early in 1905. Bailey, *American-Japanese Crises,* pp. 9–15.
[38] San Francisco *Chronicle,* Aug. 6; San Francisco *Examiner,* July 31; Los Angeles *Times,* July 31; New Orleans *Picayune,* Aug. 6.

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Holding a view of the undesirability of the Japanese as immigrants to the United States did not, however, mean antagonism toward the Japanese and their program in eastern Asia. The San Francisco *Chronicle,* for a major example, was a leader in the agitation on the immigration issue and at the same time strongly supported the Japanese on the issues of the peace settlement.

Only one preliminary of the Conference won some commendation for Russia. That was the appointment of Serge Witte to head the Russian delegation. Witte, it was professed, had long opposed "Russia's policy of bluff and aggression in the Far East," had advised the tsar before the war to keep his pledges for the evacuation of Manchuria, and had urged "square recognition of Japan's reasonable claims"; moreover, he was an advocate of reform in Russia and had no responsibility for "the atrocious mismanagement and harsh tyranny of the Russian bureaucracy." Thus, he faced "no prejudice personal to himself in America, whatever may be the feeling toward the autocracy" which he represented.[39] A number of the papers took care, however, to warn that Witte's personal acceptability to Americans, his "frankness, heartiness, good humor and cheerfulness" as contrasted with "the reserve and taciturnity" of the Japanese delegates,[40] in no way altered the American view of the basic rightness of the Japanese case or of the considerable retribution that Russia must suffer. Others were much less impressed with Witte and wrote of his confident manner as "the swaggering air of [a] big bluffer," as a "chip on shoulder, . . . haughty bearing" which would not promote success at Portsmouth.[41] The Kansas City *Star* declared that Witte's inability to speak English need not delay the Conference, for the French language

[39] New York *Times,* Aug. 3; Springfield *Republican,* Aug. 5; Louisville *Courier-Journal,* Aug. 4, 5; Baltimore *Sun,* Aug. 5; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat,* Aug. 4; Spokane *Spokesman-Review,* July 14; Portland *Oregonian,* July 15. The French chargé d'affaires in Washington wrote to his government (Aug. 8) that Americans "have welcomed the envoys of the Mikado with constant demonstrations, but have not spared their applause for the Russian delegation. In a country where physical development is universally admired, M. Witte's tall stature and broad shoulders have won him . . . the sympathy of the crowd." *Documents diplomatiques français,* 2d series, VII, 384.

[40] The chief Japanese delegates were Baron J. Komura, minister of foreign affairs, and K. Takahira, ambassador to the United States.

[41] Brooklyn *Eagle,* Aug. 10; Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* Aug. 10; Louisville *Courier-Journal,* Aug. 4; Atlanta *Constitution,* Aug. 7; San Francisco *Examiner,* Aug. 9. Hearst's New York *American* (Aug. 10) gave an "interview" of Witte by a small boy: "Little Bobbie Visits Mr. Witte. —How do you like Komura? i asked him. Fine, he sed, he reminds me of a lettel garter snaik. . . . Do you think you are going to fix things up with him, i asked. Sure, he sed. If thay will pay us one milyun yens we will forgive them for licking us. . . . How about the battle of Mukden & the fall of Port Arthur? i asked him. Well, sed Mister Witte, they were glorious victories for the Rushun cause. . . . We showed the watching wurld how to retreet without hesitashun. . . . But Japan is going to git munny from you, i sed. Are thay, sed he. Are thay going to squeeze blood out of the grate Rushun turnip. Are thay going to look through the Czar's pocket book & try to find 2 bits out of the mass of unreseeted statements. . . ."

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possessed "just as liberal opportunities for prevarication."[42] The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* wondered, because two Russian gunboats had moved out of blockaded Vladivostok to bark "harmlessly sixty times at a passing merchantman," if Witte would argue that the Russian fleet was "still a power in eastern waters," and the Chicago *Chronicle* jeered that the bombardment of a town in Crete by a Russian warship "probably determined M. Witte to demand an indemnity from Japan instead of paying one."[43]

In their pre-Conference discussion, the American newspapers had little understanding of two factors which were actually shaping events. First, they did not know that a fear had been growing in American official circles that the unqualified Japanese military success might not be so beneficial to the United States as had earlier been anticipated and that, in fact, Japan in winning so conclusive a victory might eventually become a threat to American possessions and interests in the East. After the decisive battles at Mukden and in the Tsushima Straits, Theodore Roosevelt, while he remained friendly to Japan, had come to believe that American interests would best be served by the maintenance of a balance of power in eastern Asia, a balance which required the retention of Russia—defeated but not crushed by Japan—as a factor in Far Eastern affairs. This was the major reason in the spring of 1905 for his desire to bring an end to the war and his offer of the good offices of the United States.[44] But there was no reflection of such thinking in the American press. Instead, the Boston *Herald* deplored the tendency of Europeans to view Roosevelt's action as indicating American concern over the Asiatic balance and the safety of the Philippines. Roosevelt's motive, it declared, was simply to bring a destructive war to its end.[45] The Portland (Maine) *Argus* enjoyed the laugh which Sato of the Japanese delegation gave

[42] Aug. 10.

[43] Aug. 7; Chicago *Chronicle* (quoted in Baltimore *Sun,* Aug. 13).

[44] Dennett, pp. 120, 160–67, 202; Griswold, pp. 104–105; Zabriskie, pp. 107–11, 113–16, 121. Roosevelt's letters demonstrate the modification in his thinking. For example, he wrote in June: "While Russia's triumph would have been a blow to civilization, her destruction as an eastern Asiatic Power would also in my opinion be unfortunate. It is best that she should be left face to face with Japan so that each may have a moderative action on the other." Dennett, pp. 165–66. The Russian ambassador at Washington reported to St. Petersburg that the President was now "seriously alarmed by the recent Japanese successes" and "more favorably inclined toward Russia" (Zabriskie, p. 114), and the German ambassador told his government that "it was clearly evident that the President is beginning to realize the menace of Japanese predominance in the Far East" (Dennis, p. 364). But this must not be overstressed. Roosevelt also wrote at this time, "I thoroughly admire and believe in the Japanese . . . and [Japan] will have the entire support of the United States in . . . legitimate claim[s]" at the Peace Conference, and he emphasized that the Japanese "triumph has been complete and overwhelming, and . . . they are entitled to demand very substantial concessions as the price of peace. The difficulty will come with Russia, for she will find it hard to make up her mind to give what it is entirely right and proper that Japan should ask." Bishop, I, 398.

[45] Aug. 4.

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to the idea that Japan would like to have the Philippines, and commented, "Japan recognizes a white elephant when it sees it, and has no hankering after possession of the costly beast."[46] The visit of Secretary of War Taft to Japan—which resulted in the secret Taft-Katsura agreement, by which the United States approved Japanese control of Korea in return for Japan's disavowal of designs on the Philippines[47]—aroused only slight interest in the American press. The Spokane *Spokesman-Review* did point out that there might be some "indelicacy" in an official American visit to Japan at the time this government was acting as disinterested promoter of the peace discussions.[48]

Secondly, most of the American press had no idea that Japan's financial resources were exhausted and that Japanese civil and military leaders alike were convinced of the wisdom of terminating the war quickly.[49] Thomas F. Millard, writing in *Scribner's,* did assert that the Japanese were courting national bankruptcy if they continued the war, and this was echoed mildly in a few other places.[50] But this view was more than balanced by the confident claims that superior Japanese financial methods, the willingness of the Japanese people to sacrifice to finance their victorious war, and the ready sale of Japanese bonds in the world's money markets assured Japan of war credits for a long time, if the peace negotiations failed. Rather it was believed that the sad condition of the Russian exchequer was the most probable guarantee of a quick peace.[51]

Japan's peace terms, when they were revealed officially at the first session of the Conference on August 10,[52] were almost exactly what the newsmen had predicted. They were now approved as "well within the bounds of

[46] Quoted in Baltimore *Sun,* Aug. 1.

[47] For text, see Dennett, pp. 112–14. The Taft-Katsura agreement is variously interpreted as (1) a demonstration of Roosevelt's new skepticism about Japan and a giving way before Japan on the Asiatic continent in return for assurances concerning the Philippines (Griswold, pp. 125–26), (2) an attempt to show cordiality to Japan by making the United States "a silent friend to the Anglo-Japanese alliance" through recognition of a *fait accompli* in Korea (Dennis, p. 417; Dennett, p. 115), and (3) (by the Russian historian Anatole Kantorovich) a secret alliance between Japan and the United States (Zabriskie, p. 121 n.).

[48] Aug. 5.

[49] Zabriskie, pp. 114–15; Tatsuji Takeuchi, *War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire* (Chicago, 1936), pp. 149, 154.

[50] Millard, "The Financial Prospects of Japan," *Scribner's Magazine,* XXXVIII (September), 374–78; *Harper's Weekly,* XLIX (Aug. 5), 1110; *The World Today,* IX (September), 919; New York *Times,* Aug. 12.

[51] New York *Sun,* Aug. 8; Brooklyn *Eagle,* Aug. 11; Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* Aug. 7; Tacoma *Ledger,* July 22; *Outlook,* LXXX (July 22), 699; *World's Work,* X (September), 6575; *Pacific Monthly,* XIII (June), 421. There is no evidence that the Japanese financial condition was understood at any point of the Conference. For one mention of Japan's bad financial condition, there were three or four emphasizing Russia's.

[52] *Protocoles de la Conférence de Paix entre le Japon et la Russie,* pp. 5–8.

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moderation," "justified by custom and the law of nations," framed in "a spirit of justice," "couched in a form studiously calculated to avoid wounding Russian susceptibilities" but at the same time exacting "the full penalty" which Russia should pay. A peace based upon these terms would guarantee Japan's "safety [and] future," and would warn Western "predatory nations" with ambitions in the East.[53] The Atlanta *Constitution* had to look hard for any American disapproval: "The pro-Russian 'diplomats' of the Associated Press stationed at St. Petersburg and Paris think the Japanese peace terms hard. They are the only Americans who do. . . . The Japanese terms are exceedingly moderate."[54] It was anticipated correctly that there would be Russian resistance especially to the cession of Sakhalin and to the indemnity, but the Chicago *Tribune* expressed the general view: "Public sentiment is with Japan so far as the demand for the cession of Sakhalin and the recognition of the principle of indemnity is concerned. If Russia shall refuse to make peace because of Japan's insistence on these points the verdict will be that she has erred."[55]

The quick settlement of a majority of the items substantially on the basis of the Japanese proposals during the first week of the Conference[56] was applauded. Most of the comment dealt with the decisions on Manchuria and Korea. The restoration of Manchuria to China and the mutual promises to respect the commercial open door there won strong commendation. This was characterized as endorsement of "an essential feature of United States policy, . . . a great victory . . . for America and also for international amity." At the same time, Russian recognition of Japan's protectorate over Korea was represented as creating a situation similar to that of England in Egypt or of the United States in Cuba; Korea had gone "the way of all weak, lethargic, stupid and seclusive nations," and would be decidedly "better off under Japanese domination."[57]

[53] New York *World*, Aug. 13; New York *Herald*, Aug. 11; New York *Sun*, Aug. 12; Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 11; Springfield *Republican*, Aug. 11, 18; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Aug. 14; New Orleans *Picayune*, Aug. 12; Kansas City *Star*, Aug. 11; Denver *Republican* (quoted in Springfield *Republican*, Aug. 16); Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, Aug. 17; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, Aug. 13; Tacoma *Ledger*, Aug. 12; Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Aug. 12. Even the pro-Russian Los Angeles *Times* (Aug. 12) could find little fault with the terms; they were "harsh," but "this was expected, as [Japan's] victories had been great."

[54] Aug. 13.

[55] Aug. 12.

[56] Korea; Manchurian evacuation and commercial equality; Port Arthur; the railroad; fishing rights on the Siberian coast. See *Protocoles*, pp. 5–58; Dennett, pp. 231–32, 244–45; Korostovetz, pp. 52–53, 61–63.

[57] New York *Times*, Aug. 15; New York *Tribune* (quoted in New York *Herald*, Aug. 17); Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 15; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Aug. 19; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Aug. 17; Portland *Oregonian*, Aug. 16. Other papers were concerned with less weighty aspects of the Conference; the New York *American* (Aug. 15), the New Orleans *Picayune* (Aug. 17), and the

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Witte was now at work attempting through the press to win over American sympathy, and for a period of a few days, he gained some fair success. In cordial press interviews, he let it be known that the Japanese had rejected his suggestion for full publicity of the Conference sessions;[58] then, he sought to present and to clarify Russia's case and to show that treaty solidification of Japan's war gains would threaten American and British Oriental interests. Some papers endorsed his stand for publicity as "good common sense" in the American tradition, which struck "a sympathetic chord" among the American people.[59] A few professed to see some shift of public sentiment. The Baltimore *Sun* claimed that "the unfriendly feeling toward Russia has been greatly modified since the arrival of Mr. Witte"; the Omaha *World-Herald* noted that Witte "in some measure . . . has succeeded in deflecting from Japan [the] great current of sympathy"; *Harper's Weekly* observed "a slight veering in the current of public opinion in the United States. . . . We by no means say that the tide has turned, but . . . the American friends of Russia . . . are beginning to be heard from again."[60] Witte also succeeded in getting some to view the military situation as less desperate for Russia. A few papers pointed out that Russian armies, going on the defensive, could continue to fight in the vastnesses of eastern Asia, where the conditions of warfare differed from those in Europe.[61] And some believed that the tsar's proclamation (on August 19) of a national parliamentary assembly for Russia might settle Russia's internal troubles and strengthen the tsar's hand for a continuation of the war.[62]

Witte's arguments and personality impressed the New York *Times*, and

Seattle *Times* (Aug. 14) commented acidly on the poor accommodations provided the delegates by the United States government. Not only was Portsmouth excessively hot, with mosquitoes "as thick as fiddlers in Tophet," but it was an "old-fashioned New England country town" with rigidly conservative deportment expected of all guests at the "New England village boarding house" which housed the delegates. "That our reputation as managers of big international conferences has suffered is certain." The Boston *Herald* (Aug. 14) commented on another aspect: "The summer girls [at Portsmouth] continue to get the most out of the peace conference. . . . They are as fickle as ever, for one day they are intensely pro-Russian and the next day they are talking of the progress made by the Japanese. 'What we want is control of Korea,' announced one blue-eyed young thing in white organdie. . . . 'Korea! What on earth is Korea, and where is it?' queried the girl in the white duck suit. 'I think it's a railroad somewhere out by St. Louis.'"

[58] The chief delegates had agreed at the first Conference session that "Absolute secrecy will be maintained regarding the deliberations. . . . Declarations to be made to the press shall be elaborated in common." *Protocoles*, p. 1.

[59] Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 14; Kansas City *Star*, Aug. 19; *Outlook*, LXXX (Aug. 19), 958.

[60] Aug. 19; Aug. 15; XLIX (Aug. 26), 1216.

[61] New York *World*, Aug. 14; Tacoma *News*, Aug. 19; Portland *Oregonian*, Aug. 18; Los Angeles *Times*, Aug. 13; *Harper's Weekly*, XLIX (Aug. 19), 1180. This view was challenged by many who held that renewal of the fighting would bring Siberia east of Lake Baikal into Japanese hands and a victorious Japanese fleet in the Baltic. New York *Sun*, Aug. 16; New York *American*, Aug. 16; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Aug. 20; Atlanta *Constitution*, Aug. 19; Memphis *Commercial-Appeal* (quoted in New York *Herald*, Aug. 14); St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Aug. 14; Denver *Rocky Mountain News*, Aug. 17.

[62] Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Aug. 20; New Orleans *Picayune*, Aug. 19; Omaha *World-Herald*, Aug. 20.

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some shift in the American public attitude might be claimed from the carefully reasoned appraisal of American thinking made by the *Times* at this juncture of the Conference. But it was clearly not taking up an anti-Japanese, let alone a pro-Russian, attitude on the issues of the war and the peace. (The italics are the writer's, to emphasize the *Times*'s careful qualifications.)

> There is evidence that in a curious, vague, unconscious way there has grown up at least the beginning of sympathy for Russia. . . . The causes of this are not beyond understanding. The sympathy which the people of the United States extended to the Japanese in their struggle with Russia was in a very high degree . . . [on] a moral basis. . . . [We saw in Japan] a nation whose very existence was threatened taking measures of self-defense . . . [and pledging] herself to maintain the "open door" throughout all the disputed territory. . . . *We must still believe, and do believe, that Japan had the better cause,* and if our somewhat stern and censorious attitude toward her adversary has undergone a change, *it is not because we have become less earnest in our approval of good principles or less severe in our judgment of bad principles,* but because . . . we perceive that whichever was victorious we were bound to be the losers. Russia would have excluded our merchant ships from the ports of all territory over which she gained control; Japan, *keeping with scrupulous fidelity her promise, . . . will hold the door wide open,* but . . . with her cheaper goods, she will everywhere undersell us and possess the market. *The position of national primacy to which she has come in the East is the reward of her valor, . . . [and] the sterile policy of political expansion and aggrandizement will not follow. . . . We cannot complain that Japan has not given us "a square deal."* If she entices away our customers by underselling, that is our misfortune and her privilege. . . . *A foreknowledge . . . of these fairly obvious considerations would not have persuaded us to desire the triumph of Russia and the keeping down of Japan. A nation of such tremendous capacities is not to be kept down, and we, least of all, should desire her keeping down. . . . Besides, Russia has nothing whatever to offer us in the Far East—quite the contrary. . . .*[63]

Such conjecturing was definitely exceptional. The great majority of the American newspapers were unmoved by the appeals and warnings of the chief Russian delegate.[64] A number of the papers paid tribute to Witte's astuteness, but agreed that his call for publicity was "somewhat specious," an "ingenious ruse," "playing to the galleries," and "a curious and even a droll attitude for a statesman . . . who has passed all his life in holy Russia." It was held too that Japanese conference strategy made publicity impossible and that delicate negotiations were "not suitable to town-meeting methods."[65] The New York *Times* itself summarized:

[63] Aug. 18. This editorial caused the Los Angeles *Times* (Aug. 27) flamboyantly to welcome back allegedly to a pro-Russian stand "other great newspapers of America that went off wrong."

[64] The New York *Times*'s arguments had little observable influence elsewhere; the Baltimore *Sun* (Aug. 19) commented specifically that such thoughts "may have influenced to some extent the sympathies of the American manufacturer."

[65] Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 25; Springfield *Republican*, Aug. 15; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Aug. 16; New Orleans *Picayune*, Aug. 14; Atlanta *Constitution*, Aug. 17; Chicago *Evening Post* (quoted in Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 23); Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, Aug. 15.

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The Russians, it is said, by catering to the American hunger for information, are winning golden opinions. . . . We think that whatever the Russians are winning in this way . . . is trifling. And we think that the Japanese, by adopting any policy they deem right, will forfeit nothing they enjoy for deeper reasons. . . . Not until we change our ideals of right and wrong can we alter our opinions of the issues involved. . . . That these views are in any degree alterable by the manner in which the plenipotentiaries conduct their deliberations is fantastic.[66]

At the same time, Witte's warnings of danger in Japan's strong postwar position were little noticed, being dismissed by the Louisville *Courier-Journal* as a bad attempt at "diplomatic finesse" and by the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* as "a transparently insincere warning" from the representative of a nation that had tried to gain exclusive control of Manchuria and Korea. "The sudden solicitude of the Russians for America and England," added the *Public Ledger,* "proves that they are at their wit's end in the diplomatic drama at Portsmouth."[67]

The decisive proof of Witte's failure to win American sympathy was the fact that the great majority of the press remained unswervingly pro-Japanese on the specific issues which divided the Portsmouth delegates from August 17 to 29. The two relatively minor matters—the surrender of Russian war vessels interned in neutral ports and the limitation on Russian naval forces in the Pacific—received little backing or attention, and it was accurately recognized that they had been put forward by the Japanese "for the express purpose of relinquishing them" in the bargaining on the two major questions of Sakhalin and the indemnity.[68] Concerning Sakhalin, there was no change in the unqualified support for the Japanese demand for the island: Japanese troops were in possession; Sakhalin had become "a *de facto* part of the Japanese empire"; with the Russian navy destroyed, there was not the slightest possibility of Russian reconquest; and it was no more illogical that Japan should seek its return than that France should desire recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. Witte's contention that Russia could make no cession of territory which was an integral part of the empire was deemed "wholly untenable."[69] Even the Baltimore *Sun* and the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* never altered their view that Japan was "entitled to retain possession," for "it was hers originally and she was defrauded out of it."[70]

[66] Aug. 17. [67] Aug. 19; Aug. 15.

[68] *Harper's Weekly,* XLIX (Sept. 2), 1256; New York *Sun,* Aug. 17; New York *Times,* Aug. 19, 20; Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* Aug. 20, 21.

[69] New York *World,* Aug. 18; New York *Times,* Aug. 16, 22; York *Gazette,* Aug. 17; Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* Aug. 20, 21, 26; Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* Aug. 23; Louisville *Courier-Journal,* Aug. 15; Atlanta *Constitution,* Aug. 28; Chicago *Tribune,* Aug. 24, 29; St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* Aug. 21; Salt Lake City *Deseret News,* Aug. 19; *Review of Reviews,* XXXII (September), 259–60; *Harper's Weekly,* XLIX (Sept. 2), 1259.

[70] Aug. 25; Aug. 17.

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On the indemnity question there was not such unanimity, but a decisive majority of the press continued to champion Japan's claim to "re-imbursement," although there were differences as to the amount that should be collected. Most of the dissent which did show itself was mild and centered in those papers which had been neutral before the Conference and were now captivated by Witte. The Baltimore *Sun* claimed that the Russians could cite "precedents to sustain their contention that Japan is not entitled to a money payment," and the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* believed that the other extensive Japanese gains should allow them to end the war "without receiving a dollar of reimbursement."[71] Very rare was the severe judgment made by the *Nation,* which termed the Japanese money claim on top of their many other advantages already won, "either childish or monstrous."[72] Some of the pro-Japanese papers did admit that Witte's intransigence on the money issue probably arose from unwillingness to saddle the downtrodden Russian people, "already plunged deep in debt and domestic misery," with new obligations, and some did fear that Witte had succeeded in putting the Japanese in the dangerous position of appearing to the world as prepared to continue the war for cash.[73] But most of the papers commended Japan's determination to collect in full. Typically, the New York *Sun* held that Russia should pay indemnity

> as punitory damages for the perpetartion of an international wrong. . . . [Russia] was guilty of a gross breach of faith toward . . . every Power possessing commercial interests in Manchuria. For this act Russia deserved to be brought to the bar of nations and subjected to a fitting penalty. To say . . . that Japan having executed the writ of ejectment in the interests of all the treaty Powers . . . is not entitled to the costs she has incurred . . . [is] absurd.[74]

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat,* fairly neutral before the Conference, now considered Russia's position

> so untenable as to be ridiculous. . . . If this war was forced upon Japan, as Russia has now admitted [in the terms already settled] . . . the most elementary principles of justice demand that Japan shall be reimbursed . . . for the unavoidable expenditure caused by a war it did not seek. . . . The world [will] . . . make its moral power felt as a decisive factor against Russia.[75]

The New York *Times,* which it has been noted was concerned over the strong commercial position now enjoyed by Japan,[76] declared that "precedent and the practice of nations" entitled Japan "to assess upon Russia the cost of the war. . . . Considering the matter as a problem in morals and equity . . .

[71] *Ibid.* [72] LXXXI (Aug. 24), 156.
[73] Chicago *Tribune,* Aug. 17, 29; St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* Aug. 29; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer,* Aug. 24; Portland *Oregonian,* Aug. 29.
[74] Aug. 19. [75] Aug. 19. [76] See p. 453 above.

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Russia must pay some penalty for breaking her pledge."[77] The French chargé d'affaires in Washington, on the day after the final settlement of the issue at Portsmouth, wrote to his government concerning the American press, "Through yesterday, the more substantial newspapers all declared that Russia would be under the ban of civilized nations, if it refused to pay an indemnity to cover the costs of the war."[78]

Immediately after Witte's moves to cultivate the American press, there had been some editorial admonitions to the Japanese that the responsibility for compromise was primarily theirs,[79] but when it became known by August 22 or 23 that the Japanese had dropped their demands for the interned ships and for Russian naval limitation,[80] it was held that these were ample concessions from Japan and that the still unreconciled Russians were wholly unreasonable. This was reinforced further when Witte refused the compromise suggested by President Roosevelt on the two remaining issues. The newspapers firmly supported Roosevelt in his intercession in the Conference, and they understood correctly that the Japanese were willing to accept the plan he offered.[81] Roosevelt's remarkable letters and personal appeals to the Portsmouth delegates and to the tsar and the mikado (August 18–28) urged peace on the basis of the face-saving formula of a Russian money payment—no longer termed an "indemnity"—for the return of northern Sakhalin, with the southern half of the island ceded to Japan.[82] Roosevelt's action here was not due to any influence upon him by Witte, for whom the President had

[77] Aug. 19, 20, 23, 25, 26. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* (Aug. 28) wrote scornfully, "If M. Witte ponders a moment he will recall that the United States, victor, paid Spain, vanquished, $20,000,000 for the Philippine Islands. . . . Applying this logic to the present case, Russia ought . . . to feel just thirty times as great a victor . . . by paying Japan $600,000,000 for Sakhalin or any part thereof. . . . Think with what pity and scorn Russia could toss the $600,000,000 to Japan."

[78] *Documents diplomatiques français*, 2d series, VII, 498–99.

[79] Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 17; Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 15, 16; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Aug. 20; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Aug. 17; Chicago *Tribune*, Aug. 20; Omaha *World-Herald*, Aug. 19.

[80] This concession was made by the Japanese at the Conference session of Aug. 18. *Protocoles*, p. 57.

[81] This was announced by the Japanese at the Conference session of August 23. *Protocoles*, p. 63. New York *Tribune* (quoted in *Literary Digest*, XXXI [Aug. 26], 270); Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 24; Boston *Herald*, Aug. 29; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Aug. 24, 26; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Aug. 24; Kansas City *Star*, Aug. 23; Denver *Rocky Mountain News*, Aug. 26; Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, Aug. 25; Tacoma *News*, Aug. 29; San Francisco *Examiner*, Aug. 22, 26; *Collier's*, XXXV (Sept. 2), 6; *Review of Reviews*, XXXII (September), 259–60; *Harper's Weekly*, XLIX (Sept. 2), 1256; *Outlook*, LXXXI (Sept. 2), 11–12.

[82] See Dennett, pp. 251–77 for Roosevelt's intervention. In urging compromise upon both parties, Roosevelt sought to reach the special sensibilities of each. He warned the Japanese against loss of American and world respect, while to the Russians, he held up the prospect of the loss of more territory. *Ibid.*, pp. 269, 267, 273. Note that Roosevelt never advocated that Russia make no money payment; his plan was for Russia to pay an amount ("a substantial sum," but not "exorbitant or humiliating") fixed by a mixed commission, ostensibly for the return of northern Sakhalin and for the care of Russian prisoners.

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little enthusiasm,[83] or to any sudden change in his sympathies. Entirely consistent with his pre-Conference views,[84] he was motivated by his desire for a fair and expeditious settlement which would bring an end to the conflict, assure Japan the fruits of victory, maintain Russia as a factor in the Far Eastern balance, and present himself to the world in the role of successful peacemaker. But Roosevelt was never able to bring the unyielding Russians to accept his proposition, and the final Russo-Japanese agreement—on terms less satisfactory to Japan than his suggested compromise—was reached because the Japanese yielded more than he asked of them.[85]

The American press reacted vigorously to this final Russian intransigence, and during the last week of the negotiations, there was the same unqualified and virtually unanimous support for Japan that had marked the opening of the Conference. The Omaha *World-Herald,* which had not been pronouncedly pro-Japanese before and which had strongly approved of Witte, put it into these words:

> A week ago the advantage . . . was with the Russians [on account of Witte's] shrewd and diplomatic course. . . . Today the advantage is with the Japanese . . . [who] stand before the world in the attitude of magnanimous victors who were willing to make concessions and sacrifices for the sake of peace, [setting] an example that the proudest and most Christian nation might well profit by. . . . [While, if he refuses compromise, Tsar] Nicholas will stand branded an obstinate and unreasoning loser . . . [with] the world's contempt and execration.[86]

[83] A week after the Conference closed, Roosevelt commented, "The Japs have impressed me most favorably, . . . whereas the Russians all pulled against one another, rarely knew their own minds, lied so to others that they finally got into the dangerous position of lying to themselves. . . . Witte . . . interested me, . . . [although] I thought his bragging and bluster not only foolish but shockingly vulgar when compared with the gentlemanly self-respecting self-restraint of the Japanese. Moreover, he struck me as a very selfish man, totally without high ideals. . . . I could not help feeling much contempt for the excellent Mr. Witte." Bishop, I, 418–19. In return, Witte recorded that "throughout the Conference my relations with President Roosevelt were not particularly harmonious or cordial," and declared that "upon getting acquainted with President Roosevelt and other American statesmen, I was struck by their ignorance of international politics. . . . I heard the most naïve, to use a mild term, judgments." *Memoirs,* pp. 166, 162.

[84] See p. 449 and note 44 above.

[85] On August 29, Roosevelt wrote, "I was pro-Japanese before, but after my experience with the peace commissioners I am far stronger pro-Japanese than ever." Griswold, p. 120. Witte claimed that Roosevelt was consistently pro-Japanese during the negotiations and that his intervention was due to fear that "an unsuccessful end of the parley might turn the people away from him and from the Japanese." *Memoirs,* p. 153. Likewise, Dr. Dillon, Witte's agent at Portsmouth, writing in 1907, pictured Roosevelt as "ardently pleading the cause of the Japanese" and as persevering in his "plea for the cession of Sakhalin and the payment of a war indemnity, which was gall and wormwood to the Russians." "Japan and Russia: The Story of How Peace Was Brought About," *Contemporary Review,* XCI (February, 1907), 281, 278. While many years later, Viscount Kikujiro Ishii wrote that "Mr. Roosevelt assumed the task of restoring peace solely in the interest of his well-liked Japan. . . . Mr. Roosevelt's sympathies were with Japan, and . . . he was deeply . . . solicitous for Japan." *Diplomatic Commentaries* (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 73–74.

[86] Aug. 24, 29.

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Other papers spoke out no less clearly: the Russians, in "blindness and stubbornness," were acting as if they were the victors dictating terms; the Japanese demands had to be met both to insure real peace in the Far East and to discredit the Russia autocracy; the recent Japanese concessions were "remarkable," and by them Japan had "met its beaten adversary more than half way"; the American people would "hold Russia responsible for failure to make peace."[87] The St. Paul *Pioneer Press* declared, for example, that if the war was to continue

> no blame can reasonably be attached to Japan. . . . It may even be desirable, from the standpoint of the permanent peace of the world, to "call" the Russian "bluff." . . . Nor should anyone be blinded by Russian attempts to discredit Japan and put the responsibility on its shoulders. That is a familiar ruse of Russian diplomacy. . . . Japan by its offer to make concessions has within the last few days put the responsibility for the continuance of the war, if it is to continue, on Russia. . . . In this war, . . . Japan's case was unassailable . . . [while] Russia had no shadow of justification. . . . [This] is the practically unanimous opinion, . . . the sober, unbiased, intelligent judgment of thirty or forty million adult Americans on the moral issues involved in the conflict. Nor has there up to this time been the slightest evidence of a revision of opinion.[88]

The influence of Witte on the American public, as shown in favorable press comment, was thus neither extended or long-lived. His momentary effectiveness in some places was due almost entirely to the intense desire in the United States for peace and the feeling that, since the Russians apparently would not accept all the original Japanese terms, Japanese inflexibility would mean continuance of the war. When the Japanese made the concessions on the issues of the interned ships and the Pacific naval limitation and indicated their readiness to accept the sensible Roosevelt compromise on Sakhalin and the indemnity, the section of the press which had wavered briefly returned almost unanimously to support of the Japanese and opposition to the Russians.

Announcement from London at the height of the Conference deadlock (August 25) that the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 had been renewed and extended was greeted by the American press as a factor which could aid materially in resolving the crisis at Portsmouth. The new treaty, it was held, gave the Japanese the vitally important guarantee of the kind they were seeking against renewed Russian aggression. Also, it was acclaimed, the Anglo-

[87] New York *Times*, Aug. 28; New York *World*, Aug. 22, 23, 25, 28, 29; Boston *Herald*, Aug. 21, 25; Springfield *Republican*, Aug. 26; Montreal *Star* (quoted in Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 28); New Orleans *Picayune*, Aug. 26; Minneapolis *Journal* (quoted in Omaha *World-Herald*, Aug. 31); Kansas City *Star*, Aug. 25; Pueblo *Chieftain* (quoted in Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, Aug. 29); Tacoma *Ledger*, Aug. 26; Portland *Oregonian*, Aug. 24; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Aug. 26; San Francisco *Call* (quoted in New York *Herald*, Aug. 30).

[88] Aug. 22, 26.

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Japanese alliance would serve to maintain the peace of the Orient; would insure the territorial integrity of China; would strengthen the American-promoted open-door policy; and, by forcing Russia to turn its attention back to the West, would help restore the European balance of power, so disturbed in favor of Germany. There could be "no disguising the fact" that the alliance would operate "beneficially" for the United States.[89]

When on August 29 agreement was reached by the Portsmouth delegates after the Japanese waived the indemnity and agreed to retain only the southern half of Sakhalin,[90] the American press hailed the end of the war and heaped praises upon those who had made the peace. A number of editorial writers applauded Witte for the tenacity with which he had fought and obtained for Russia the best terms possible, demonstrating diplomatic skill of the highest order in extricating his country from a disastrous war which he personally never had sanctioned.[91] There was still more fervent praise for Theodore Roosevelt, whose part in bringing about peace was well understood but certainly overestimated. He had proved himself "a diplomat of the highest rank, . . . the foremost living statesman." His peacemaking was "the crowning achievement of his brilliant career"; none of his accomplishments would "endure longer or bring him greater fame"; his "lofty and far-seeing statesmanship . . . puts to shame the narrow diplomacy of a Talleyrand or a Metternich and the greedy triumph of a Bismarck."[92]

The strongest superlatives, the real paeans of praise, however, were reserved for Japan, for "her magnanimity and noble self-sacrifice" in surrendering "her just demands in the interests of humanity and peace." This was an act virtually "unparalleled in the history of nations," "a master stroke," the setting of "a new standard of liberality," an absolute proof of Japan's "national greatness," "a most impressive lesson in moderation, self-restraint, and consummate world statesmanship," "an example which the most enlightened of the white nations could imitate with profit," an exhibition "to the Christian world of such a faith in the latter's own professed principles and ideals as

[89] New York *Times*, Aug. 27; Brooklyn *Eagle*, Aug. 31; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Aug. 27; Baltimore *Sun*, Sept. 1; Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Sept. 2; New Orleans *Picayune*, Aug. 29; Chicago *News* (quoted in *Literary Digest*, XXXI [Sept. 16], 371); *Harper's Weekly*, XLIX (Sept. 9), 1292; *Review of Reviews*, XXXII (September), 388.

[90] *Protocoles*, pp. 67–89. The treaty was signed Sept. 5. For text, see John V. A. MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China 1894–1919* (New York, 1921), I, 522–28.

[91] New York *World*, Sept. 1, 11; New York *Times*, Aug. 30; Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 31; Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Aug. 31; Los Angeles *Times*, Aug. 31; *Review of Reviews*, XXXII (September), 260.

[92] New York *World*, Aug. 30; Boston *Herald*, Aug. 30; Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Aug. 30; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Sept. 3; St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, Aug. 31; Omaha *World-Herald*, Sept. 1; Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Aug. 30; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, Aug. 30; Tacoma *Ledger*, Aug. 31.

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might not be found among Christian powers under like circumstances."[93] Said the Boston *Post*, "Russia wins the advantage in diplomatic bargaining and bluff and Japan mounts a pedestal as the incarnation of international morality and the finest representation of high civilization."[94] Commented the Seattle *Times*, "With everything in Japan's favor, and the whole civilized world backing her in the justice of her demands—with one fell swoop she drew her pen across the [disputed] claims. . . . Probably not in the history of the world has there been such magnanimous conduct on the part of a victor."[95] Wrote the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, "Japan . . . conquered Russia by her arms, and now she has conquered the world by her magnanimity and humanity and made the envious nations her friends and allies."[96]

A number of the papers, while paying highest tribute to Japan's moderation, were fearful that the final agreement did not impose a full measure of retribution upon the Russian autocracy and did not give sufficient guarantee against a revival of Russian imperialism in the Far East. Concern was expressed over the pretentious manner of Witte once the terms were fixed and over the tone of his letter to the tsar declaring that Russia remained the great power in the East that it had been. A few wondered if the intercession of President Roosevelt, "well meaning as he may have been," had not "contributed heavily to Japan's diplomatic discomfiture by enabling the Russians to whittle down the issue in the popular mind to one of 'mere money' and then astutely to place upon Japan the burden of waging 'a war for tribute,'" thus creating a situation whereby Japan was deprived of "the fruits of victory and . . . the foundations for a new war" laid in the same way as the three-power intervention in 1895 had done.[97] The Columbia (S.C.) *State* declared

[93] New York *Times*, Aug. 30, Sept. 4; New York *Sun*, Aug. 30; New York *World*, Aug. 30, 31; Springfield *Republican*, Aug. 30, Sept. 2; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Aug. 30; Philadelphia *Press* (quoted in Springfield *Republican*, Aug. 31); Baltimore *American* (quoted in *Current Literature*, XXXIX [October], 356); Boston *Advertiser* (quoted in *Public Opinion*, XXXIX [Sept. 9], 337); Boston *Globe*, Boston *Journal*, Wilmington *Journal*, Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph*, Pittsburgh *Times* (all quoted in Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 31, Sept. 1); Philadelphia *Inquirer*, Philadelphia *North American*, Milwaukee *Sentinel*, Memphis *Commercial-Appeal* (all quoted in New York *Herald*, Aug. 31, Sept. 1, 2, 4); Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Aug. 30; Washington *Star* (quoted in Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Sept. 5); Chicago *Tribune*, Aug. 30; Kansas City *Star*, Aug. 30; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Aug. 31; Omaha *World-Herald*, Aug. 30; Burlington *Hawkeye*, Indianapolis *News*, Des Moines *Capital*, Des Moines *Register and Leader*, Chicago *Record-Herald*, Kansas City *Journal*, Kansas City *Times*, St. Joseph *News-Press* (all quoted in Omaha *World-Herald*, Sept. 1); Tacoma *Ledger*, Aug. 30; Portland *Oregonian*, Aug. 30; *Outlook*, LXXXI (September), 59–60; *Nation*, LXXXI (Aug. 31), 173; *Forum*, XXXVII (October), 172, 175, 181. Even the Los Angeles *Times* (Aug. 30) recognized "a spirit of unusual magnanimity" on the part of Japan.

[94] Quoted in Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 31.

[95] Aug. 31.

[96] Aug. 30.

[97] New York *American*, Aug. 30; New York *Financial Chronicle* (quoted in *Literary Digest*, XXXI [Sept. 16], 369); Springfield *Republican*, Aug. 31; Boston *Herald*, Sept. 6; Atlanta *Con-*

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that "sane, cultured, moral, high-minded" Japan was still threatened by "wolfish and savage" Russia, and lamented,

> Japan has been badly deceived into believing that she would gain more through magnanimity than through justice. She has listened to the whining pleas of sentimentalists, . . . [and has] lost her opportunity to make a peace that would have guaranteed the tranquillity of the Far East for many years. . . . In a short time the very persons who now applaud Japan's magnanimity will denounce her folly in not retaining the just fruits of a just war.[98]

This interpretation was heavily overbalanced, however, by the belief that Japan had secured in the peace settlement the material as well as the moral victory. Although Japan had given up an indemnity claim which had "no bearing on the real issues of the war," it was asserted, Japan had obtained "all the ends for which she went to war," had established "a new order of things in the Far East," and, by unprecedented magnanimity in the interest of peace, had further strengthened its place in the good opinion of the world, making impossible any moral support for Russia in a war of revenge.[99] The *Review of Reviews* called the peace treaty "the most complete and most brilliant success in the long series of Japanese successes," and *Public Opinion* declared that "Japan, and not Russia, gained the diplomatic victory."[100] The Boston *Transcript* specified,

> The peace agreed upon between Japan and Russia is a splendid triumph for the former, . . . won without the slightest concession of the great purposes for which Japan went to war. Some time may elapse before our public realizes the full measure of Japan's triumph, for its attention has lately been so centered on the question of indemnity. . . . [But] payment of indemnity by Russia was in no way essential to Japan's preservation of the fruits of her victories.[101]

And the New York *Evening Post* summarized the material gains of Japan:

> Looked at in a large way, [Japan's] victory is one of the most dazzling known to history. . . . The Russian terror is removed from their nation for at least a gen-

stitution, Sept. 7; Louisville *Courier-Journal,* Sept. 1; New Orleans *Picayune,* Sept. 7; St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* Aug. 30; Spokane *Spokesman-Review,* Aug. 31; San Francisco *Examiner,* Aug. 30; *Harper's Weekly,* XLIX (Sept. 9), 1292.

[98] Quoted in Springfield *Republican,* Sept. 8, and in *Current Literature,* XXXIX (October), 356–57.

[99] New York *Sun,* Aug. 31; New York *American,* Aug. 31; New York *Press* (quoted in Springfield *Republican,* Sept. 8); Boston *Herald,* Aug. 30; Providence *Journal* (quoted in *Public Opinion,* XXXIX [Sept. 9], 337); Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* Aug. 30, 31; Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* Aug. 30; Chicago *Tribune,* Aug. 30, 31; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat,* Aug. 30; New Orleans *Picayune,* Aug. 31; Galveston *Daily News* (quoted in New York *Herald,* Sept. 6); St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* Aug. 31; Denver *Rocky Mountain News,* Aug. 30; Spokane *Spokesman-Review,* Sept. 4; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer,* Aug. 30, Sept. 6; San Francisco *Chronicle,* Aug. 30, Sept. 4; *Collier's,* XXXV (Sept. 9), 6; *World Today,* IX (October), 1062–65; *World's Work,* X (October), 6691–93.

[100] XXXII (October), 387; XXXIX (Sept. 9), 336.

[101] Aug. 30.

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eration. They have Korea, the Liaotung peninsula, Port Arthur and Dalny; they have first call upon the friendship and the trade of China; they have leaped forth before the world as a people splendidly endowed. . . .[102]

The conclusion of the negotiations brought forth several final appraisals of American public opinion for the period of the Conference. The New York *Times* declared that, while it was

> beyond question that M. Witte . . . turned American opinion more favorably toward his nation, . . . it cannot be said that M. Witte succeeded in altering American opinion upon the merits [of the Japanese and Russian cases]. The record is made up in that respect irrevocably.[103]

And *Century Magazine* wrote,

> There were times when the personal popularity of Mr. Witte in America may have deceived some as to the real opinion of the people. . . . The great majority of Americans sympathized in the course of the war with the Japanese, . . . [and] the best public opinion of the world sustains the action of the Japanese government in making peace . . . [by] surrendering non-essentials and firmly maintaining essentials. [The Japanese] suffered no diplomatic defeat at Portsmouth, but added greatly to the country's laurels.[104]

This delineation of American opinion is confirmed by the attitude taken toward the short-lived Tokyo riots protesting against the Japanese concessions at Portsmouth. The anti-American tone of the demonstrations was termed "disquieting" by a few, but, in general, emphasis was placed on the natural disappointment of the Japanese people in not securing the financial compensation which they had been led to anticipate. It was believed certain that when the great gains made by Japan in the Portsmouth treaty were understood, popular feeling against their own and the American government would disappear. Some papers accused Japanese radicals of being primarily responsible and of trying to use the issue to drive the conservative ministry from office; others believed the riots portended greater "freedom of political opinion in Japan."[105] The St. Paul *Pioneer Press* was sure "that any feeling of animosity [would not] . . . long survive a display on [America's] . . . part of continued good will," and the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* thought that there

[102] Aug. 30.
[103] Aug. 31.
[104] LXXI (November), 157–58.
[105] New York *Times*, Sept. 8; New York *World*, Sept. 8; Boston *Herald*, Sept. 8; Springfield *Republican*, Sept. 8; Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, Columbia *State* (both quoted in *Literary Digest*, XXXI [Sept. 23], 408); Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Sept. 8; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Sept. 8; Omaha *World-Herald*, Sept. 8; Salt Lake City *Deseret News*, Sept. 8; Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, Sept. 9; Tacoma *News*, Sept. 13; Portland *Oregonian*, Sept. 8; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Sept. 6.

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was "nothing especially significant about the outbursts. . . . The Japanese are even more thoroughly imbued with Western ideas than they have been credited with; that is all."[106]

Post-Conference American opinion was further demonstrated by the ridicule which greeted the remarks of Kaiser William to a delegation of American congressmen, to the effect that the Portsmouth treaty made China a puppet of Japan, that Japanese expansion constituted a Yellow Peril to the white peoples, and that the United States should take a leading role in thwarting Japan's ambitions. This was called speaking with "a loose tongue," an attempt of one who had not expected Japan to win against Russia and whose plans for the partition of China were now jeopardized to "incite distrust between Japan and the United States" and to get Americans "to pull Germany's chestnuts out of the fire." Instead, Americans could be assured that Japan would "scrupulously observe all the obligations of international comity," and would do nothing which would "rightly provoke European hostility."[107]

Contemporary final judgments on the significance of the war and the peace followed the same pattern as those written on the eve of the Conference. Japan was now the leading great power in eastern Asia. The basic war aims of Japan—the assurance of Japan's political independence, which had been menaced by the "aggressive action of Russia"; the obtaining of "legitimate opportunities for industrial and commercial development in Korea and Manchuria"; and the prevention of the dismemberment of the Chinese Empire—had all been realized.[108] Japan's influence would now be "paramount at the court of Peking"; Manchuria would become "ultimately a Japanese province"; Korea would experience "annexation to the island empire." The economic, political, and cultural development of these areas would demonstrate the beneficent effects of Japanese domination. While "Japan, farsighted and sagacious, [would] see the advantage of holding to her side with ties of commercial interest her two great friends and natural allies [Britain and the United States]," and while "an extension of our influence and trade in Asia" would follow, "the hour of Asia's awakening" had come, for Western exploitation would end with "the infusion of Japanese energy, imitative ability and constructive intelligence" into these vast populations. On the other hand, there would be for the Japanese "little or no temptation . . . to pursue an aggressive policy." The Japanese were "not devoured with

[106] Sept. 6; Sept. 9.

[107] Baltimore *Sun*, Sept. 7; Springfield *Republican*, Sept. 6; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Sept. 7; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Sept. 8.

[108] Boston *Herald*, Sept. 8.

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a desire to conquer the world"; on the contrary, they were "peaceable and peace-loving."[109]

In the long run, the Peace of Portsmouth does mark a significant dividing point in American-Japanese relations. However, a study of the American press for the period of the Portsmouth Conference demonstrates that there was no "overnight" change of American public opinion. Anti-Japanese sentiment was to develop shortly in the United States over varied issues. But through the period of the Portsmouth Peace Conference, the compounding of American pride in the successes of their Far Eastern protégés, hope for a large-scale commerce with an Orient under the tutelage of Japan, distrust of the Russian tsarist autocracy and its Asiatic imperialism, and much wishful thinking, combined to hold the American public to well-established pro-Japanese sympathies.

[109] New York *Herald*, Aug. 31; Boston *Herald*, Sept. 2, 8; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Aug. 31; Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Sept. 4; Atlanta *Constitution*, Sept. 2; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Sept. 1; Kansas City *Star*, Aug. 31; St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, Sept. 1; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 4, 6; Tacoma *News*, Aug. 30; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Aug. 31; *North American Review*, CLXXXI (October), 595–96; *World's Work*, X (October), 6695–96; *World Today*, IX (November), 1168–72; *Moody's Magazine*, I (December), 6–7; *Pacific Monthly*, XIV (September), 297.

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Industry and Labor under Napoleon

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HISTORIANS have long recognized that the Napoleonic period had an important influence on the institutions of France and Europe. The Code Napoleon is still in force in many European states and in other parts of the world. The Legion of Honor continues to reward Frenchmen for their achievements. The administrative system of Napoleon still governs the French people. His concordat of 1800 regulated the relations of church and state until 1905. He put vitality into the conscription law of 1798 and forced that institution on the other states of Europe. He employed and popularized the institution known as the plebiscite, which has been used since his time for many purposes.

One important institution of the Napoleonic period, however, seems to have received scant attention from all historians save a few lawyers who have specialized in labor law. It is the *"conseil de prud'hommes,"* or committee of masters and men, composed of manufacturers and workers in various industries, elected by their peers, and charged with the task of terminating by conciliation or by judicial action industrial disputes between employers and their employees. It is of interest as an early illustration of democracy in industry and as the institution which filled, in a sense, the gap between the guild system of the *ancien régime* and the modern trade union. It made France the first modern state to have a court for industry.

The *conseil de prud'hommes* was based on two principles: specialization and equality. As the council was made up of industrial manufacturers and employees, it was competent to judge industrial disputes; and since the parties to disputes had virtually equal representation, the principle of equality was fairly well observed. The *conseil de prud'hommes* thus provided a practical method for handling industrial disputes.[1]

The name *"prud'hommes"* was used to a certain extent in France before the period of Napoleon. It is derived from the Latin term *"prudentes homines"* and was used in France at least as early as the fifteenth century. In 1462, apparently, the king established at Marseilles a council, the members of

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[1] François Mollot, *De la compétence des prud'hommes, et de leur organisation* (Paris, 1842), pp. 9–10.

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which were known as *prud'hommes,* that was supposed to settle disputes between fishermen. From Marseilles the institution spread to other French maritime cities, where it lasted as late as the twentieth century. The council consisted of four *prud'hommes* elected by the fishermen of a port, who judged every Sunday the disputes which had arisen between the fishermen during the week. No appeal was possible. This institution, however, had no organic connection with the *conseil de prud'hommes* of Napoleon.[2]

On March 2, 1791, the French National Assembly abolished the guild system and the trade regulations of the *ancien régime.* This action opened for industry a new era. It gave industry freedom within the boundaries of France in place of the former strangling restrictions. Unrestricted liberty, however, led to grave abuses. *"Les dangers du laissez-faire et du laisser-passer commencent à se manifester."*[3] The disappearance of the guild system had left industry in anarchy, and a need was felt for some organization.[4]

At the time of the introduction of the *conseils de prud'hommes,* France was still a country of small industries. The ordinary industrial establishment was the *atelier* and not the *usine.* A master employed at most a few workmen, and was at the same time manufacturer and merchant. But there was a tendency toward the ruralization of industry in order to escape the hampering restrictions prevalent in the towns and cities. The manufacture of cloth was almost exclusively a rural industry; in many regions the woolen industry was leaving the towns; and the winding and spinning of silk was carried on largely in the country districts.

As earlier in England, however, there were unmistakable signs of change in the organization of French industry during the last decades of the eighteenth century. In the wool and silk industries, for example, there was developing a class of master-merchants who bought the relatively expensive raw materials, distributed them to the artisans, especially in the rural districts, owned the machines used by the artisans, and finally collected and sold the finished product. In some cases the artisans were beginning to work in factories controlled by the capitalists.

By the opening of the Napoleonic period machinery was likewise beginning to be introduced in France. This was particularly true of the textile and metallurgical industries, in which looms for the weaving of stockings and ribbons, spinning jennies, the machines of Arkwright and Crompton, silk looms, hydraulic hammers and bellows, rolling-mills for foundries and

[2] E. Glasson, "Conseil de prud'hommes," in *La grande encyclopaedie,* XII, 472.
[3] Charles Binot de Villiers, *Manuel des conseils de prud'hommes* (Paris, 1845), p. xii.
[4] Paul Pic, *Traité élémentaire de législation industrielle* (Paris, 1908), I, 84.

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the drawing of wires, and steam engines were coming into use. There were also signs of a growing concentration of industry in larger establishments, especially in the factories created by the government. By 1800 the Creusot works, a large factory for the casting of cannon, and some relatively large textile mills had been established. Any considerable aggregation of workers, however, was the exception and not the rule.

As yet the workers were not in a very advantageous position. At all times hours of labor were long, pay was low, and the organization of associations and strikes were forbidden under severe penalties. These conditions were made still harder by the prolonged industrial crisis that accompanied the Revolution.[5]

The first attempt to restore order in industry was the law of April 12, 1803, which provided for the creation of consultative councils of arts and trades, the outlawing of workers' coalitions, the creation of the *livret* system[6] whereby each worker must possess a permit to be signed by the proper authorities when he wished to change jobs, and a special jurisdiction for the settlement of industrial disputes between manufacturers and their workers.[7] By its terms all small legal disputes in Paris were to be carried before the prefect of police. In other cities such cases were to be heard by the general commissioner of police or the mayor. But the jurisdictions were ill-defined and the police commissioners, who were not well-acquainted with industrial problems, were hardly competent to settle the cases brought before them.[8]

Then as now the city of Lyons was one of the chief industrial centers of France. As Napoleon passed through the city in April, 1805, on his way to Milan to receive the crown of Italy, he received a delegation from the Lyons chamber of commerce.[9] Being dissatisfied with the law of 1803, this body

[5] Henri Sée, *Esquisse d'une histoire économique et sociale de la France* (Paris, 1929), pp. 335–60, 406–12; A. Viallate, *L'activité économique en France de la fin du* XVIII^e *siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1937), pp. 20–25, 68–73; and M. le Comte Chaptel, *De l'industrie française* (Paris, 1919), II, 1–113.

[6] The French *livret* system was first established by letters patent of September 12, 1781. The Revolution abolished it for a time, but it was re-established by a law of 22 Germinal an XI, articles 12 and 13. Jean B. Duvergier, *et al.*, eds., *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlements, . . . de 1788 à 1830* (2d ed., Paris, 1834 ff.), XIV, 64–67. *Livrets* were obtained from the prefect or the mayor. They contained statements as to the age, profession, place of birth of the worker, and the dates of his employment by his successive employers, but did not give either favorable or unfavorable comments upon the skill or fidelity of the worker. They aided the police in supervising the workers and served as proof of the existence of a labor contract. As the employers retained the *livrets* during the period of employment, they had an advantage in dealing with the workers.

[7] Ernest Pariset, *Histoire de la Fabrique Lyonnaise* (Lyon, 1901), p. 262.

[8] Emile Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières, 1789–1870* (Paris, 1904), I, 388.

[9] The French *chambres de commerce* must not be confused with the institution of the same name in the United States. In contrast to the situation in America the French *chambres de commerce* had an official character. One of them probably dates back to the sixteenth century. Quite a number were organized in the eighteenth century. These chambers of commerce of the

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expressed a wish for an *"espèce de tribunal de famille,"* a tribunal similar to one functioning in Lyons before the French Revolution. The delegation requested specifically a *"conseil de prud'hommes,"* representing both the manufacturers and the workers, with special jurisdiction over the silk industry. Their arguments impressed Napoleon, and on April 14, from Lyons he ordered the French council of state to prepare a law to meet the demands of the delegation.[10]

The task of preparing the legislation was entrusted to Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, who, in his "Exposé des motifs," clearly sets forth the purpose of the government in drawing up the new law:

> *La loi que j'ai vous présenté crée une institution nouvelle. . . . Les fonctions de ce genre exigent des connaissances que les fabricants seuls ou les chefs d'atelier peuvent réunir. Elles exigent aussi, avec la sévérité inflexible de la magistrature, une sorte de bonté paternelle que confère l'autorité du juge.*[11]

Thus in the new institution Napoleon intended to settle disputes by drawing on the specialized knowledge of both employers and employed. The new *conseil de prud'hommes* would protect the industrialist from the practices of the unrestricted worker and would enable the worker to secure justice promptly and cheaply through an institution in which he was represented.[12]

The law of March 18, 1806, gave only the silk industry of Lyons a *conseil de prud'hommes.*[13] It declared, however, that the government was willing to establish similar councils in other French cities and towns. As a consequence the new institution spread rapidly and was carefully organized by a series of decrees.[14] By the time of the fall of the Napoleonic Empire *conseils de prud'hommes* were operating in twenty-six French cities.[15]

The *prud'hommes* had at least five functions. They conciliated disputes *"qui s'élèvent journellement"* between the manufacturers and their workers or

ancien régime were abolished by the law of September 27, 1791 (Duvergier, III, 374), but they were re-established by a decree of 3 Nivose an XI (Duvergier, XIII, 351). The united organization was effected by fifty to sixty of the leading merchants of the city or town chosen and presided over by the prefects of the departments. The chambers were composed of nine to fifteen members and were elected for terms of six years. They were selected from merchants, money changers, directors of *sociétés anonymes,* and captains and masters of coasting vessels. The principal functions of the *chambres de commerce* were to give advice to the government upon economic matters, public works, and transportation facilities.

[10] Napoléon Bonaparte, *Correspondance de Napoléon I* (Paris, 1862), ed. by Henri Plon, X, 322. *Cf.* letter of April 24 from Stupinigi, *ibid.,* X, 342.

[11] Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, "Exposé des motifs," in Mollot, p. 398, appendix 5.

[12] *Ibid.,* pp. 396–98.

[13] For the text of this decree, see Duvergier, XV, 311–13.

[14] Decrees of July 3, 1806, June 11, 1809, Aug. 3, 1810, Feb. 20, 1810. For texts see Duvergier, XVI, 1–2; XVI, 386–92; XVII, 134; XVII, 28–33.

[15] Levasseur, I, 390.

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apprentices and between the foremen of workshops and workers or apprentices. They judged cases where conciliation was not possible. They could impose without appeal fines up to one hundred francs or three days' imprisonment. If the penalties were heavier they could be appealed to the tribunal of commerce. The *prud'hommes* were to verify breaches of contract or disobedience to the laws and regulations whether they were committed by employers or employees. They were to maintain property rights in trade-marks and new industrial designs. They were to inspect all workshops twice a year in order to have accurate knowledge of conditions of work, the number of workers, and similar information.[16]

The right to establish *conseils de prud'hommes* belonged to the government. This was first set forth by article 34 of the decree of March, 1806. It was further elaborated by article 2 of the decree of June 11, 1809. By virtue of these decrees the government could institute a *conseil de prud'hommes* when petitioned to do so by the chamber of commerce of a city. The chamber of commerce first forwarded its petition to the prefect, who then turned the request over to the minister of the interior. This latter official would then set up such a council unless the government decided that the industry of the city or town was not of sufficient importance to warrant the establishment of a *conseil de prud'hommes*. The industrial importance of the place determined the fate of its petition.

The composition of the *conseils de prud'hommes* was carefully regulated. The councils consisted of manufacturers, foremen, and licensed workers, elected by their peers. By article 17 of the decree of 1809 they had to be thirty years of age. They had, further, to have been in the industry at least six years, to be literate, and not to have been involved in a bankruptcy.[17] Three things, however, made the selection of workers as *prud'hommes* difficult: many of the workers were not literate; the great majority of foremen who had been licensed or patented (which meant that they had paid a special tax) were in the employer class; and many workmen could not afford patents.[18]

The number of *prud'hommes* varied according to the locality. No council could have fewer than five members or more than fifteen. Each council had to have an odd number of members since decisions were reached by an absolute majority of those voting. One of the two groups represented, the

[16] See in particular the laws of Mar. 18, 1806, and June 11, 1809, Duvergier, XV, 311–13, XVI, 386–92. See also Mollot, pp. 443–44.

[17] Article 3 of the decree of Mar. 18, 1806, Duvergier, XV, 311–13.

[18] M. Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine et de soie* (Paris, 1840), I, 145.

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manufacturers or workers, always had one representative more than the other. By the first article of the decree of June, 1809, the manufacturers were to have one more representative on the council than the workers.[19] A third of each *conseil de prud'hommes* was renewed each January.[20]

The method of electing the members of the *conseils de prud'hommes* is explained in articles 13–20 of the decree of June, 1809. The procedure was fairly democratic. An assembly was convoked by the prefect and presided over by either the prefect or official appointed by him. All manufacturers, foremen, and workers could vote in the assembly after registering at the Hotel de Ville and presenting their patents. As the workers in most cases could not afford a patent, the manufacturers usually found themselves in a majority in the assemblies.[21] This situation, however, was remedied to a certain extent by the provision that the councils had to include a number of workers almost equal to that of the manufacturers. The foremen were considered as members of the workers' class. Voting was by ballot and decisions were arrived at by an absolute majority.[22]

The *conseils de prud'hommes* had two distinct functions. They played in part a judicial role and in part an administrative role. Their chief judicial functions were: (1) to conciliate the disputes between manufacturers and workers in industry, and between foremen and workers and apprentices; (2) to reach a decision in cases where conciliation failed; and (3) to punish in a police capacity the perpetrators of actions tending to trouble the order and discipline of the workshop. They had jurisdiction only over their own industry and the men and women employed in it in a given locality.[23] They had no jurisdiction over disputes between employers over matters pertaining to manufacturing.

For the exercise of these judicial functions each *conseil de prud'hommes* was organized into two boards: a conciliation board and a board of judgment. The conciliation board was composed of two members, a manufacturer and either a foreman or a patented worker. In towns where these councils had five to seven members the conciliation boards sat every other day; in towns where the councils had nine to fifteen members they sat every day.[24]

The various decrees issued during the Napoleonic period state quite

[19] M. Mollot (p. 58) argues that this was a fair and logical inequality because the industrialists were better educated, had furnished the capital for industrial developments, etc.

[20] Article 3 of the decree of June 11, 1809, Duvergier, XVI, 386–92.

[21] Mollot, p. 62.

[22] F. Du Cellier, *Histoire des classes laborieuses en France* (Paris, 1860), p. 344; Binot de Villiers, p. xiv.

[23] Articles 10 and 11 of the decree of June 11, 1809, Duvergier, XVI, 386–92.

[24] Article 21 of *ibid.*

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clearly the function of the council as a whole and the procedure of the conciliation boards in particular. Article 6 of the law of March 18, 1806, states, *"Le conseil de prud'hommes est institué pour terminer, par la voie de la conciliation, les petits différends qui s'élèvent journellement soit entre des fabricants et des ouvriers, soit entre des chefs d'ateliers et compagnons ou apprentis."* Sections 5 and 6 of the decree of June 11, 1809, explain the procedure to be followed by the conciliation boards. The secretary of the council, an elected officer, was to notify the disputants by a simple letter concerning the day and hour when they were to appear in person before the board. This spared the poorer workers the expense of legal representation. If one of the parties to a dispute failed to heed the summons, the case was decided against him by default. If the parties to a dispute conducted themselves in a disrespectful manner, they were liable to a fine for contempt of court. After the disputants had explained their case to a conciliation board, the board was given by article 36 of the decree of June, 1809, almost unlimited power to effect a settlement: *"La loi les laisse arbitre de tous les moyens qui leur semblent propres à amener une conciliation."*[25] In arriving at a decision a board might visit the workshop during the proceedings.[26] In the event the conciliation board was unable to settle a dispute the case was referred promptly to a board of judgment.[27]

The conciliation boards settled the majority of cases brought before them by an intelligent use of the procedure of arbitration.[28] Most of the statistics as to their effectiveness come from a somewhat later period. From 1830 to 1842 the sixty-eight *conseils de prud'hommes* operating in France heard a total of 184,514 cases. Of this number 174,487 cases were settled by conciliation boards, leaving only 10,027 cases to be heard by the boards of judgment.[29] During the two years 1835 and 1836, 30,710 cases were referred to the *conseils de prud'hommes.* Of these the conciliation boards settled 29,781 cases, leaving only 929 disputes to be settled by the boards of judgment.[30] In later times the record of the conciliation boards is not so favorable. In 1901 the conciliation boards of the 145 *conseils de prud'hommes* established in France settled 21,456 industrial disputes but passed on to the boards of judgment 18,120 disputes.[31]

The disputes referred to the *conseils de prud'hommes* were of many types,

[25] Mollot, p. 205.
[26] Article 46 of the decree of June 11, 1809, Duvergier, XVI, 386–92.
[27] Articles 22 and 36 of the decree of Feb. 20, 1810, *ibid.*, XVII, 28–33.
[28] Levasseur, I, 390.
[29] Binot de Villiers, pp. xix-xx.
[30] Mollot, p. 185.
[31] Daniel Massé, *Législation du travail et lois ouvrières* (Paris, 1904), p. 135.

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the most frequent being the dispute over wages. Next to this in point of numbers were the cases involving charges of the mistreatment of workers.[32] A manufacturer could bring a complaint against his foreman, workers, or apprentices if a law or regulation had been infringed by one of them, or if a worker refused to fulfill his contract as to quantity of work to be produced, length of time he was to work, and the quality of the work produced. The manufacturer could also bring a complaint if the worker demanded higher wages than the contract provided. On the other hand, the foremen, workers, or apprentices would have a case against the manufacturer if he infringed a law or regulation, if he suddenly laid off his workers at an inopportune time contrary to contract or to the established custom, if he contested or withheld part of their wages, or if he refused to give them their *livrets*.[33] These were the kinds of disputes which the *conseils de prud'hommes* handled expertly for a century.

When a dispute could not be settled by the conciliation board, it was sent before the board of judgment. The judgment board consisted of a general assembly of all the members of the *conseil de prud'hommes*. The judgment board met at least once a week, and in order to reach a decision two thirds of the members of the council had to be present. Decisions were reached by an absolute majority of the votes. The council had the right to elect a president and a vice-president to preside over the sessions of the judgment board. They were elected by absolute majority, held office for a year, and were always eligible for re-election. The council also elected a secretary who had charge of the papers of the council and kept the minutes during sittings of the board. The judgment board had to make its decisions in a case at once, and these decisions were put into effect twenty-four hours after having been signed by the president, vice-president, and secretary of the *conseil de prud'hommes*. Decisions which could be appealed were provisionally put into effect, but they could be accepted as final by the disputants.[34]

In cases appearing before the judgment board the disputants were notified of the day and hour when they were to appear in person before the board by a simple letter from the secretary. Article 41 of the decree of February 20, 1810, ruled that if on the day indicated by the letter from the secretary, one of the parties to the dispute did not appear the case would be

[32] *Compte rendu de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques,* CXXV; Ernest Glasson, *Le code civil et la question ouvrière* (Paris, 1881), p. 859.

[33] Mollot, pp. 187–88.

[34] Article 8 of the decree of Mar. 18, 1806, and articles 23–27, 36 and 47 of the decree of Feb. 20, 1810, Duvergier, XV, 311–13, XVII, 28–33.

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awarded by default. However, the disputant who lost a case by reasons of default could oppose the decision of the *conseil de prud'hommes* if he notified them to this effect within three days after the decision had been reached. In this case the secretary sent a second letter to the parties and they appeared before the judgment board at the first possible opportunity. If the person failed to appear a second time the case was decided against him and no appeal was possible.[35]

If the *conseil de prud'hommes* reached a decision in a case which one of the parties felt was outside its jurisdiction, appeal to the tribunal of commerce was possible. Such would be the case where a manufacturer brought a complaint against a worker in order to recover a sum of money lent by the manufacturer to the worker for a purpose foreign to industry. The jurisdiction of the *prud'hommes* would not permit them to decide a case of this nature since the cause of the dispute would not be a problem directly related to the industrial situation.[36]

In reaching decisions in cases pertaining to civil law, the *conseils de prud'hommes* could impose a fine of up to one hundred francs, and such decisions would be without appeal. Decisions involving more than a one hundred francs' penalty were subject to appeal before the tribunal of commerce of the locality or before a civil court.[37] All decisions of the councils, however, regardless of the sum involved, were executed provisionally.[38] Appeals had to be made within three months or the decisions became permanent.[39]

The *conseils de prud'hommes* were at liberty to summon witnesses if this seemed necessary in order to decide a case. Section 9 of the decree of February 20, 1810, elaborated the procedure to be followed in this instance. Witnesses were summoned to appear before the judgment board on a particular day by a letter from the secretary. In the presence of the board they gave their name, profession, age, place of residence, and their relationship to the contestant. After taking an oath to tell the truth they were heard separately in the presence of the judgment board and the contestants. The disputants were forbidden by law to interrupt the witnesses, but the *prud'hommes* could ask the witnesses any questions they believed necessary to clarify the issues. However, before the witnesses began their testimony, the parties to the dispute stated their objections to the witnesses and to the

[35] Articles 42 and 44 of the decree of June 11, 1809, *ibid.*, XVI, 386–92.
[36] Mollot, p. 215.
[37] Article 2 of the decree of Aug. 3, 1810, Duvergier, XVII, 134.
[38] Article 3 of *ibid.*
[39] Article 38 of the decree of Feb. 20, 1810, *ibid.*, XVII, 28–33.

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forthcoming testimony. In cases where appeal was possible the testimony of the witnesses and the parties' objections to the witnesses were appended to the board's decision. Where the case was not subject to appeal, only the names of the witnesses and similar data were appended.

The *conseils de prud'hommes* also had jurisdiction in certain simple police matters. *"Tout délit tendant à troubler l'ordre et la discipline de l'atelier, tout manquement grave des apprentis envers leurs maîtres"* could be punished by the *prud'hommes* by three days' imprisonment. Such orders were put into effect at once by the police.[40] This disposition applied to the manufacturers as well as the workers, for the councils could punish all those who troubled the order and discipline of the workshop regardless of who the instigator was, except that they had no authority over people foreign to industry who caused trouble in the workshops. Offenses punishable by imprisonment were such acts as the breaking of machinery as a result of disturbances begun by a worker, or slander directed against a manufacturer by an apprentice, causing his reputation and credit to suffer. In both these instances, moreover, civil suit could be brought before the *conseils de prud'-hommes* for monetary indemnity.[41] In connection with their police powers, the councils could, in very urgent matters, order such measures as they deemed necessary to stop or prevent the destruction of industrial property.[42]

Because impartiality was essential for the success of the *conseils de prud'-hommes* in reconciling disputes and in reaching fair decisions on cases which could not be conciliated, one or more of the *prud'hommes* could be excused from sitting on a case in the following circumstances: if a *prud'homme* had a personal interest in the case, if he was a close relative to one of the parties to a dispute, or if during the preceding year he had been involved in a civil or criminal suit with one of the parties. The party who wished to prevent one of the *prud'hommes* from hearing a case for any of the above reasons merely signed a statement to this effect in the presence of the secretary of the council, and the *prud'homme* was excused from the hearing of the case.[43]

Besides such judicial functions as have been described, Napoleon gave the *conseils de prud'hommes* administrative functions as follows: (1) to preserve property rights to trade-marks and new designs; (2) to make two inspections a year of all workshops in order to have accurate knowledge of

[40] Article 4 of the decree of Aug. 3, 1810, *ibid.*, XVII, 134.
[41] Mollot, p. 259.
[42] Article 28 of the decree of Feb. 20, 1810, Duvergier, XVII, 28–33.
[43] Articles 54 and 55 of *ibid.*

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the conditions of work, the number of workers employed, and similar facts; and (3) to verify matters of breach of contract or disobedience to the laws and regulations pertaining to certain aspects of industry. The law of March 18, 1806, gave the *conseils de prud'hommes* the function of preserving property rights to trade-marks and to new designs for silks. Later, however, this stipulation was enlarged to apply to all councils having jurisdiction over comparable industries.[44] The procedure to be followed is set forth in section 3 of the March, 1806, decree. All manufacturers who wished to claim property rights to a new trade-mark or design before the tribunals of commerce would have to have previously deposited the new trade-mark or new design in the archives of the *conseils de prud'hommes*. It must be noted that the councils did not have jurisdiction to sit in judgment over questions relative to the possession of these designs. Such property rights could be claimed only before the tribunals of commerce. The *conseils de prud'hommes* were to act only in a capacity to preserve the designs.[45] The designs and trade-marks were to be placed in an envelope which was sealed, signed, and dated with the date of deposit in the archives. In case of a dispute between two or more manufacturers over possession of a new design, the council furnished the proper court with a certificate indicating the name of the manufacturer who had the priority of date of deposit.[46]

Over and above the brief inspections of workshops that the councils were authorized to make in order to clarify the issues of a dispute, the *conseils de prud'hommes* were to make one or two inspections a year of the workshops in their jurisdiction. The purpose of these visits *"a pour objet unique d'obtenir des information sur le nombre des métiers et d'ouvriers."*[47] Such information could be communicated to the chambers of commerce upon request. However, the purpose of Napoleon in giving the *prud'hommes* this function was considerably more extensive. According to the words of the reporter of the March, 1806, law:

Ils recueilleront dans ces tournées des connaissances statistiques importantes sur le nombre des ouvriers, des métiers, sur les améliorations dont la fabrication est susceptible, sur ses pertes si elle en éprouvait, sur les moyens de les réparer, et sur tout ce qui peut intéresser l'ordre public et les progrès de l'industrie.[48]

But this disposition of the law was rarely executed.[49] The inspection, when it did occur, could not take place until after the proprietor of the workshop

[44] Mollot, p. 314. [45] *Ibid.*, p. 315.
[46] Articles 16 and 17 of the decree of Mar. 18, 1806, Duvergier, XV, 311–13.
[47] Article 65 of the decree of Feb. 20, 1810, *ibid.*, XVII, 28–33.
[48] Regnault d'Angely, in Mollot, p. 398. [49] Mollot, p. 338.

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had been given two days' notice. In order to facilitate the inspection, the local police had to give the council every aid it demanded.[50]

Article 10 of the March, 1806, decree states that,

Le conseil de prud'hommes sera spécialement chargé de constater, d'après les plaintes qui pourraient lui être adressées, les contraventions aux lois et réglemens. . . . Les procès-verbaux dressés par les prud'hommes pour constater ces contraventions seront renvoyés aux tribunaux compétens . . .

This is a very vague disposition, for neither the nature of the infringements nor the laws which might be infringed upon are defined. In general, however, the councils ascertained or verified infringements of laws and regulations which fell into two categories: those infringements falling within their own jurisdiction, and those which fell in the jurisdiction of other courts. When the matter came under their own jurisdiction, they verified the complaint submitted to them and took the matter up before the conciliation board or the board of judgment. When the case was outside of their jurisdiction, they verified the infringement and sent their information to the proper court for action upon it. Examples of infringements of industrial regulations within the jurisdiction of the *conseils de prud'hommes* were: disregarding the regulations concerning trade-marks and new designs, and causing disorder in the workshops. Contraventions which did not lie within their jurisdiction were more numerous. In general the majority of the latter contraventions were infringements of the criminal code and subject to criminal action, such as cases involving fraud, theft, and, at that time, strikes. But regardless of the seriousness of the crime, if it concerned industrial matters the *conseils de prud'hommes* were called upon for their opinions.[51]

The functions and services of the *prud'hommes* were entirely gratuitous; and the disputants who appeared before them had no service fees to pay.[52] The operating expenses of the councils were included in the budget of the local town.[53]

In modern France disputes and law suits arising from labor legislation and industrial regulations must be carried before one of the four following jurisdictions: the *conseils de prud'hommes,* tribunals of commerce, justices of the peace, and civil courts. Of these four jurisdictions only the first, the *conseils de prud'hommes,* is a jurisdiction *"absolument spéciale au monde du travail."*[54] Partly as a result of this fact the *conseils de prud'hommes* have

[50] Articles 65 and 67 of the decree of Feb. 20, 1810, Duvergier, XVII, 28–33.
[51] Mollot, pp. 347–52.
[52] Articles 30 and 32 of the decree of Mar. 18, 1806, Duvergier, XV, 311–13.
[53] Articles 69 and 70 of the decree of Feb. 20, 1810, *ibid.,* XVII, 28–33.
[54] Massé, p. 124.

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had a very successful record. The following statistics may serve to illustrate a certain measure of their success. From 1830 to 1842 the judgment boards of the sixty-eight *conseils de prud'hommes* in France reached decisions on 5,178 disputes, of which 1,904 were decisions which could not be appealed. But of the 3,274 decisions which could have been appealed, only 190 cases were actually taken to a higher court. Hence 1,714 decisions were accepted voluntarily by the disputants.[55] As a rule, very few cases which could be appealed were so appealed; the councils functioned to the satisfaction of all.[56] From 1876 to 1880 there were 625 decisions which could be appealed out of the 3,027 decisions rendered by the boards of judgment. Only 102 decisions were appealed, however, and 71 of these were upheld.[57]

The reasons for this successful record are varied. Perhaps the most obvious, as has already been mentioned, is the fact that the *conseil de prud'hommes* is the only jurisdiction of its kind in France, and it was especially designed to meet the needs of the laborer and the manufacturer. It was a court providing swift and cheap justice to the worker, for the worker could rarely afford the expense of a law suit in a civil court. The parties appeared in person, hence saving the expense of a lawyer, and there were no service fees to pay. Decisions were rendered swiftly, which was an aid to both worker and manufacturer.[58] But more important than these reasons to the success of the *conseils de prud'hommes* was the confidence placed in the councils by worker and manufacturer alike. The members of the councils were competent to handle industrial disputes, for they had a firsthand knowledge of industrial conditions since they were themselves workers and manufacturers. Confidence was also inspired in the councils because workers were elected *prud'hommes* and were raised to a par with manufacturers in their capacity as arbiters and judges. The *conseils de prud'hommes* were thus able to rectify a host of small abuses which would otherwise have gone unalleviated.[59]

The institution of the *conseils de prud'hommes*, as has been explained, spread rapidly throughout France during the nineteenth century. From 1806 to 1814 twenty-six councils were established in various cities in France: at Lyons and Clermont in 1806; at Nîmes in 1807; at Troyes, Thiers, Sedan, Saint-Quentin, Mulhouse, Carcassonne, and Avignon in 1808; at Tarare, Reims, and Limoux in 1809; at Saint-Etienne, Roubaix, Marseilles, Louviers, Lodève, and Lille in 1810; at Saint-Chamond, Orléans, Amplepuis, and

[55] Binot de Villiers, pp. xix-xx. [56] Glasson, *Le code civil*, p. 890. [57] *Ibid.*
[58] Levasseur, I, 390; Glasson, *Le code civil*, p. 888; Du Cellier, p. 345.
[59] Villermé, I, 146.

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Alais in 1811; at Strasbourg, Bolbec, and Alençon in 1813.[60] Napoleon also established this institution in two Belgian cities, at Ghent in August, 1810, and at Bruges in March, 1813. The *conseils de prud'hommes* in Belgium had very little success, however, for the condition of the workers was so miserable that the manufacturers had a marked predominance on the councils.[61] By 1845 there were *conseils de prud'hommes* in sixty-eight cities in France, the last city of size and importance to establish a council being Paris, which did not create the jurisdiction until December, 1844.[62] The reason for Paris' tardiness was that the issue of establishing such a jurisdiction in the capital city of France became a political one and was enmeshed in red tape. Many committees were organized with the purpose of deciding whether or not Paris needed a *conseil de prud'hommes*, but no decisions were reached until the efforts of certain industrialists, of Mr. Mollot, a court lawyer, of certain organs of the press, and of the municipal council triumphed over all obstacles and saw to it that on December 29, 1844, the law establishing the first *conseil de prud'hommes* in Paris was promulgated.[63] The number of *conseils de prud'hommes* in France more than doubled during the next half century. By 1901 there were 145 *conseils de prud'hommes* operating in France.[64]

During the latter half of the nineteenth century other European nations adopted this institution with little variation from the French pattern except in minute details.[65] In Germany at the beginning of the present century there existed 313 *conseils de prud'hommes*. They had been instituted in Prussia by the decree of August 7, 1846; in Alsace by the law of March 23, 1880; in Hamburg by the ordinance of October 10, 1887; and in Saxony by the decree of October 15, 1851. The creation of a *conseil de prud'hommes* was made compulsory for all German communities with a population of over 20,000 by a decree on June 30, 1901. The institution was adopted in Austria-Hungary on May 14, 1869. It was introduced a second time into Belgium on July 31, 1889. Spain set up the councils on July 24, 1873, Italy on June 15, 1893. *Conseils de prud'hommes* were instituted in Portugal on July 14, 1889, and in Switzerland by the decrees of November 20, 1885, May 12, 1897, and February 16, 1892.[66] Thus by the end of the nineteenth century the industrial jurisdiction created by Napoleon had been voluntarily adopted by seven European nations.

[60] Levasseur, I, 390. [61] Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1923), VI, 180.
[62] Binot de Villiers, appendix 8, pp. 164–65.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. viii. [64] Massé, p. 135.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 136–37, contains a discussion of the small divergencies between the other European *conseils de prud'hommes* and the French model.
[66] Massé, pp. 136–37, and p. 136 n. 1, 2.

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The *conseils de prud'hommes* are still in existence in contemporary France. With the rise of trade unions, however, they lost much of their *"influence d'une tutelle bienveillante et respectée"* over industry.[67] During the nineteenth century the *conseils de prud'hommes* were subject to numerous minor revisions and reorganizations, the most important being contained in the decrees of May 27, 1848, June 5, 1848, June 1, 1853, June 14, 1853, February 7, 1880, November 24, 1883, December 10, 1884, and March 27, 1907.[68]

Article 1 of the decree of May 27, 1848, provided that thenceforth the number of workers on the *conseils de prud'hommes* would always be equal to the number of manufacturers. Therefore one of the obvious inequalities of the institution was rectified. Another inequality was abolished concerning the electoral qualifications. Electors had to be twenty-five years of age, in the industry for five years, and resident for three years in the territory of the council. But by article 4 of the decree of November 24, 1883, the workers no longer had to be patented in order to take part in the elections or to be themselves elected to the councils. Thus the majority of the laborers were no longer disqualified from the *conseils de prud'hommes*. Any man could be elected to a council if he were thirty years old and fulfilled the above stipulations.[69] The *prud'hommes* were no longer renewed by thirds every year but by half every three years.[70]

The electoral assemblies also were modified during the course of the nineteenth century. In each commune where the jurisdiction of the *conseils de prud'hommes* was established, the mayor, assisted by two assessors whom he chose, one a worker and the other a manufacturer, inscribed the electors on a tablet which was sent to the prefect. The manufacturers then assembled by themselves and elected directly the *"prud'hommes patrons."* At the same time the foremen and industrial workers held their own assembly and elected directly the *"prud'hommes ouvriers"* in a number equal to the representatives from the manufacturing group.[71] By this disposition of the law another discrepancy was corrected—that of having a preponderance of manufacturers in the electoral assembly.

The regulations concerning the president and vice-president of the *conseils de prud'hommes* underwent several changes during the century. The institution, as Napoleon set it up, was empowered to elect its own

[67] Pariset, p. 274.

[68] For the texts of these decrees in abridged form see Louis André and Leon Guinbourg, *Le code du travail* (Paris, 1905), pp. 590–632; Louis Courcelle, *Code annoté des lois ouvrières* (Paris, 1902), pp. 148–60.

[69] Article 5 of the decree of June 1, 1853, André and Guinbourg, pp. 622–25.

[70] Article 10 of *ibid.* [71] Article 9 of *ibid.*

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presidents and vice-presidents. Napoleon III, however, insisted on the right of the emperor to name the presidents and vice-presidents of the various councils. Moreover, he could choose them from outside of the list of the elected. They held office for three years and could be reappointed.[72] Hence the emperor could fairly well control the *conseils de prud'hommes* by official appointments of their officers. This provision was reversed by articles 1 and 3 of the decree of February 7, 1880. The naming of the presidents and vice-presidents of the councils returned to the individual councils, who elected their own officers for one-year terms. This decree in article 2 also stated that when the president was a manufacturer, the vice-president had to be a worker, and reciprocally. The latter provision was abrogated by the second article of the decree of December 10, 1884. From that date on, the president and vice-president could both be drawn from the same group on the council.

Several other revisions in the institution deserve mention. Article 13 of the decree of June 1, 1853, enlarged the fines which the *conseils de prud'-hommes* could assess in their decisions. Judgments were now without appeal if the sum did not exceed two hundred francs. *Conseils de prud'hommes* could be dissolved upon the decision of the government.[73] Article 30 of the decree of March 18, 1880, was abrogated by article 6 of the decree of February 7, 1880. This meant that the communes were free to give a salary to the *prud'hommes* if they so desired, but there could be no discrimination in payment between the *prud'hommes* who were workers and those who were manufacturers. All disputants still had to appear in person before the *conseils de prud'hommes* and plead their own case, but after April, 1895, lawyers could appear before the councils with their clients and the *prud'-hommes* could not refuse to listen to the lawyers' testimony.[74] These revisions were, by and large, the most important of the many small changes in the institution made during the nineteenth century. The *conseil de prud'-hommes* has lasted to the present day in France with only minor revisions.

In the light of this history it would seem that Napoleon must be credited by historians with the creation of another institution of first-class importance. The growth of the *conseils de prud'hommes* in his own time would seem to justify such a claim. Their survival through six subsequent political regimes in France and their spread to at least seven other states of Europe prove conclusively their vitality, their usefulness, and their fairness.

[72] Article 3 of *ibid.*
[73] Article 16 of *ibid.*
[74] Massé, p. 132, n. 1.

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The Armenian Crisis, 1912-1914

RODERIC H. DAVISON*

THE eastern or "Armenian" provinces of Turkey, since 1945 again the object of Russian claims, have long been one of the sensitive spots occupying the attention of European statesmen. In the two years before Sarajevo the question of the future of this region took on the proportions of a diplomatic crisis. When the question arose in serious form at the end of 1912, the Turks had just lost almost all their European territories in disastrous defeat at the hands of the Balkan states. Statesmen and journalists began to wonder whether Asiatic Turkey would hold together. As early as December of 1912 rumors of the partition of Asiatic Turkey became frequent.[1] Such a partition threatened complications even more serious for the relationships of the powers than the settlement of the Balkan confusion.[2] Spheres of strategic, economic, and cultural interests were all involved, as well as questions of prestige and a possible test of strength, a year before it actually came, between the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. What brought the crisis to the fore was a new edition of the old Armenian question, last a concern of the powers in 1897—the question of the government of the Armenian provinces by the Turks, of necessary reforms, and of possible autonomy or separation.

Both the question of reforms and the crisis threatening partition in these years have been forgotten, although at that time the European chancelleries took the whole affair very seriously. This forgetfulness is easily explained. The crisis over Armenia was sandwiched in between the more dramatic events of the Tripolitan and Balkan wars on the one hand, and the World War on the other. For a time the dispute over Liman von Sanders overshadowed it. Those who are interested especially in Armenian affairs have concentrated on the supervening massacres and deportations of 1915. Because of its importance then, and its significance now, the 1912–1914 crisis is worth reconstructing.

An edict of reforms for the Armenian *vilayets* (provinces) had been

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[1] *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871–1914,* XXXIV, Pt. 1, no. 12710 and note (hereinafter cited as *Grosse Politik*); Auguste Gauvain, *L'Europe au jour le jour* (Paris, 1917–22), IV, 347.

[2] *Grosse Politik,* XXXIV, Pt. 1, no. 12588.

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wrung from Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1895 by European pressure.[3] On paper, the scheme promised to be reasonably effective, but, like many Ottoman reforms, it remained only paper. Russia, engaged in holding down her own Armenians in Transcaucasia, did not press the issue; France, Germany, and Austria, for various reasons, did not want to risk the partition of Turkey; and the attention of the powers was soon distracted by the Cretan problem. Abdul Hamid sent out an inspector general for reforms, who did nothing.[4] The lot of the Armenians did not improve. The recent massacres were the one topic of conversation among them, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation continued its activities, although in a more subdued manner.[5]

Wild rejoicing among Armenians, and great hopes for the future, arose with the Young Turk revolution of 1908. Armenians co-operated with the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). A few steps were, in fact, made toward realizing the Armenian hopes. Their newspapers and schools could speak more freely. Less brutality accompanied tax collection. A gendarmerie reorganized by the French General Baumann and other Europeans in 1909 operated from its Trebizond headquarters to increase public order and safety in eastern Anatolia. In 1912 the Porte started to make effective a new *vilayet* law providing for greater provincial self-government.[6] But these embryonic measures of improvement from 1908 to 1912 were far outweighed by old and new grievances. When measured against the hopes of 1908, furthermore, the situation seemed to the Armenians as black as ever.

Armenian disillusionment sprang from the massacres of 1909, the so-called "Cilician vespers" in Lesser Armenia for which the Young Turks must bear a goodly share of the responsibility.[7] More lasting troubles came with Kurd depredations in Greater Armenia. The chief source of conflict between Kurds and Armenians was the land problem. Wandering Kurds, or *muhajirs,* had seized the lands of many Armenians who had been massacred, or had fled, in 1895. When some of the refugees returned after 1908, the Kurds would not restore the lands; indeed, the government was powerless to pre-

[3] For the 1895–97 diplomacy and background of the Armenian question see William L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism* (New York, 1935), I, chaps. v, VII, X; for a convenient summary and collection of reform documents since 1878 see Marcel Léart, *La question arménienne à la lumière des documents* (Paris, 1913).

[4] Sir Telford Waugh, *Turkey Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (London, 1930), p. 51.

[5] Frédéric Macler, *Autour de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1917), pp. 149–57.

[6] Noel and Harold Buxton, *Travel and Politics in Armenia* (New York, 1914), pp. 108–10; Léon Lamouche, "La réorganisation de la gendarmerie ottomane," *Questions diplomatiques et coloniales,* XXXI (Apr. 16, 1911), 470–82; *Asie française,* XII (1912), 199–200, 346–47.

[7] André Mandelstam, *Le sort de l'empire ottoman* (Paris, 1917), pp. 203–206.

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vent further seizures of Armenian property. From 1909 on there was what the French vice-consul in Van described as real war between the two peoples.[8]

Advantage rested with the Kurds, however, for two reasons. The first was that they were armed, whereas most Armenians were not. When the Turkish government tried to disarm all troublemakers in Armenia, they were successful only among the sedentary population, which was largely Armenian; wandering Kurds were still armed. The second reason was that subordinate Turkish officials tended to favor their fellow Moslems against the Christian Armenians. The gendarmerie was handicapped since all Greater Armenia contained not a mile of railroad before 1914, and because what roads existed were poor. In 1911–1912 the situation became worse as troops were taken from eastern Anatolia to Tripoli and the Balkans. The Armenian divisions were called to the Balkan front in 1912, and the Armenian peasantry was thus left without military protection. The Young Turks, furthermore, soon turned from equality and Ottomanization to Turkification, stifling previous Armenian hopes. This policy extended even to limiting the privileges of the Armenian Patriarch Arsharouni, installed at Constantinople in 1912.[9] In short, the constitutional regime had done little for the Armenians.

Under these conditions, Armenian voices began to make themselves heard. There was no unanimity, however, among them. Many, haunted by fears of massacre and loss of land, seem to have favored Russian protection but at the same time to have feared a possible Russian annexation as being only a change of masters.[10] The peasant mass was not very vocal. Higher classes of Ottoman Armenians wished rather for a regenerated and orderly Turkey and thought that autonomy would be possible only within Turkey and not under Russian domination. By the end of 1911, through their patriarch and delegations of the assembly of the semiautonomous Gregorian *millet,* or "nation," these Armenians were appealing to the grand vizier for protection against Kurds and for a land settlement. New depredations in the fall of 1912 led to new protests. The Ottoman council of ministers was genuinely concerned, made promises, appointed commissions, and laid plans

[8] Michel Pavlovitch, "La Russie et les arméniens," *Revue politique internationale,* I (May, 1914), 474–75; Mandelstam, p. 30; S. Zarzecki, "La question kurdo-arménienne," *Revue de Paris,* XXI (Apr. 15, 1914), 888; *Asie française,* XII (September, 1912), 391, notes a typical incident.

[9] Buxton and Buxton, p. 28; *Near East,* V (July 11, 1913), 280; Max Schlagentweit, *Verkehrswege und Verkehrsprojekte in Vorderasien* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 32–34; American Board of Congregational Missions, *Report for 1910* (Boston, 1911), p. 119; *Echos d'Orient,* XV (November, 1912), 543; Macler, pp. 157–68.

[10] Pavlovitch, in *Rev. pol. internat.,* I, 476.

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for redemption payments to dispossessed Armenians, but results were negligible. Beset with wars and diplomatic problems and not wishing to antagonize the Kurds, the Porte was in an extremely difficult position.[11]

Armenian political societies, constituted outside the official *millet,* also became more vocal. Because they were organized, these societies had more influence than their mere membership warranted. Aimed at improving the lot of Armenians in both Russia and Turkey, and ultimately at liberating the Turkish Armenians, the societies had since their origin at the end of the nineteenth century collected members of all hues—socialists, anarchists, and freethinkers, among others. Their ramifications extended to America, France, Switzerland, and Austria. Of the four principal groups, the Verakazmial and the Ramkavar were the more moderate and the least influential. The Hintchak and the Dashnakzouthiun were socialist and revolutionary, though their programs were subject to change. It is difficult to estimate the hold of these societies on the mass of Armenians, though it is certain that they had many enemies as well as friends; it is difficult also to distinguish the opinions of their members in Turkey from those of members elsewhere. But the position of the Dashnakzouthiun, otherwise called the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, is fairly clear. It was easily the leading society by this time, claiming for itself in 1907 a membership of 165,000.[12]

The Dashnaks had co-operated with the Young Turks in the 1908 revolution and continued to work with them until 1913. They were socialist and revolutionary and had stores of arms, but they restricted their actions for the most part to a cultural and legal plane after the revolution. Their program was essentially one of reform within the Ottoman Empire. They did not believe that Russian occupation of Armenia would bring them more freedom, though it would bring more order. Varandian, writing as a member of the Dashnakzouthiun, asked reforms and autonomy for Turkish Armenia, saying that a complete separation of Armenia from Turkey was ethnographically and geographically impossible. By the beginning of 1913, however, relations between the Dashnaks and the Committee of Union and Progress, representing the Young Turk group now in power, were becoming strained. On February 1, 1913, all the Dashnak members of the CUP's committee on national defense stayed away from a vital session.[13] Dashnak members also

[11] A. Viallate et M. Caudel, *La vie politique dans les deux mondes* (Paris, 1908 ff.), VI, 377; *Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia v Epokhu Imperializma* [International Relations in the Period of Imperialism], 2d series, III, Pt. 2 (Moscow, 1940), nos. 648, 715 and n. 2, 819.

[12] Fédération Arménienne Révolutionnaire, *Rapport présenté au Bureau Socialiste Internationale* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 22–23.

[13] *Near East,* IV (Feb. 7, 1913), 379.

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approached foreign powers. A Russian Dashnak, Dr. Zavriev, called on the Russian ambassador in Constantinople to complain about the treatment of his fellows in Turkey, and to ask advice. The ambassador reports that he cautioned him against revolutionary activities that might provoke the Turks. Armenians, he said, must be victims in the eyes of Europe.[14] On the whole, the Dashnakzouthiun seems not yet to have favored separatism or Russian occupation, but to have pursued a policy of waiting and pressure for reforms and autonomy. Its representatives co-operated with conservative Armenians in the *millet* assembly of November, 1912. It constituted, however, a potential threat to the Porte, and it could present the Armenian case abroad as well as within the Ottoman Empire.[15]

Public opinion the world over was soon made conscious of the Armenian problem. When the Balkan wars broke out, Armenians saw both an example of a fight for freedom and an opportunity for action. Their agitation increased. The magazine *Pro Armenia* reappeared in Paris. Armenians resident in Japan and Burma sent appeals to the Hague Court. *Armenia,* printed in the United States, carried articles directed at awakening world opinion for reform. The Armenian colony in Paris petitioned the president of France for a solution to their problems in Turkey. The British embassy in Constan-

[14] Mandelstam, *Le sort,* p. 209; Russia, Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del, *Sbornik Diplomaticheskikh Dokumentov: Reformy v Armenii, 26 Noiabria 1912 goda–10 Maia 1914 goda* [Collection of Diplomatic Documents: Reforms in Armenia, Nov. 26, 1912–May 10, 1914] (Petrograd, 1915), no. 7. This is the official Russian Orange Book on the Armenian crisis, hereinafter cited as *Orange Book.* A popular condensed edition also exists, *Budushchee Ustroistvo Armenii* [Future Organization of Armenia] (Petrograd, 1915). These are the only Russian collections covering the Armenian question of 1912–14. Thus far the great collections now being published leave a gap here. The second series of *Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia* so far goes only to October 17, 1912, and the third series begins with January 1/14, 1914. The gap can be filled to some extent from the collections published by Adamov, Marchand, Siebert, and Stieve, which will be cited below, but much is still missing. The *Orange Book* was edited to suit Russia's wartime politics in 1915, as is evident from the omissions and alterations of its no. 148 (Jan. 27/Feb. 9, 1914) as compared with the full text in *Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia,* 3d series, I (Moscow, 1931), no. 210 (German translation in *Die Internationalen Beziehungen im Zeitalter des Imperialismus,* 1st series, I [Berlin, 1931], no. 210; hereinafter cited as *Internationalen Beziehungen*). The *Orange Book* must be used with caution.

[15] The foregoing two paragraphs are based on the following: Charles Vellay, "La question arménienne," *Revue de Paris,* III (June 1, 1913), 664; *Armenia,* VI (July, 1913), 368; *Near East,* V (July 11, 1913), 280; Kapriel S. Papazian, *Patriotism Perverted* (Boston, 1934), pp. 9–37; Pavlovitch, in *Rev. pol. internat.,* I, 479; Herbert A. Gibbons, *The Blackest Page of Modern History* (New York, 1916), p. 71; Fédération Arménienne Révolutionnaire, *Rapport, passim;* Frédéric Macler, "Les arméniens en Turquie," *Revue du Monde Musulman,* XXIV (September, 1913), 168–69; Federal Writers' Project of WPA of Massachusetts, *The Armenians in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1937), pp. 46–52; M. Vartan Malcom, *The Armenians in America* (Boston, 1919), pp. 118–24; Leon Z. Surmelian, *I Ask You, Ladies and Gentlemen* (New York, 1945), pp. 53–65; René Pinon, *Le rapport secret du Dr. Johannes Lepsius . . . sur les massacres d'Arménie* (Paris, 1918), pp. 190–200; *Orange Book,* no. 11. Much of this literature is controversial. For later Turkish charges of Armenian revolutionary activity up to 1914, and documentary support, part of it certainly true, see: *Aspirations et agissements des comités arméniens* (Constantinople, 1917), pp. 7–118; *Les turcs et les revendications arméniennes* (Paris, 1919), pp. 17–18, 25–29; also Mahmud Moukhtar, *La Turquie, l'Allemagne, et l'Europe* (Paris, 1924), pp. 94–95.

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tinople was approached by Armenians who asked for the execution of the guarantees of reform in the Treaty of Berlin.[16]

Thus the ground was prepared for the resurgence of the Armenian question in diplomatic circles. But it remained for Russian action to force an early consideration of the question by the powers, who, occupied with the Balkan imbroglio, did not want to be bothered with Armenia at the moment.[17] The Russian action, however, forced them to pay attention to it. It was curious that Russia, for whom in 1895 the question of Armenian reforms had been distasteful, should now be the protagonist of such reform. Mandelstam, the first dragoman of the Russian embassy in Constantinople, later explained this change of heart on purely humanitarian grounds: Russia wanted to help the Armenians to secure liberty and safety in Turkey.[18] The real Russian motives are more obscure, and there was apparently a conflict on policy within Russia itself. The immediate object of the tsarist government seems to have been simply the establishment of Russian control over reform administration in Turkish Armenia, perhaps separated from Turkey as an autonomous province. Military occupation was contemplated if reform efforts should fail.[19] Reasons both of internal and external policy supported such an aim.

The internal reasons were connected with the attitude of the Russian government toward its own Armenian minority in Transcaucasia. Until 1905 Russian policy had been one of ruthless repression, which reached its height in that year with a government-provoked Armeno-Tartar war, and the confiscation of all Armenian ecclesiastical property. This resulted only in increased revolutionary activity by the Armenians against the government. After 1905 a new governor of the Caucasus, Vorontzov-Dashkov, inaugurated a conciliatory policy which gave results and put an end to the Armenian separatist drive. Peace, order, and justice were given the Armenians, as well as some nationalist rights, although at the same time Vorontzov made efforts to colonize Russians in Transcaucasia. The Armenians were still, however, a thorn in the Russian side. The Armenian deputies in the Duma lined up with the left-wing parties, the Dashnaks with the revolutionaries, and the Hintchak with the Social Democrats. The Dashnaks gave particular trouble,

[16] Mikael Varandian, *L'Arménie et la question arménienne* (Laval, 1917), p. 76; *Moslem World,* IV (January, 1914), 85; Vellay, in *Rev. de Paris,* III, 671; *British Documents on the Origins of the War,* X, Pt. 1, no. 567, enclosure (hereinafter cited as *British Documents*).

[17] *Ibid.,* no. 475.

[18] André Mandelstam, *Das armenische Problem im Lichte des Völker- und Menschenrechts* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 109–13.

[19] *Documents diplomatiques français,* 3d series, VIII, no. 144 (hereinafter cited as *Documents diplomatiques*); Mandelstam, *Le sort,* p. 207; *Orange Book,* no. 1.

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and as late as 1912 there was a spectacular trial of five hundred of the most important Armenians, of Dashnak sympathies, for high treason; the trial served in the end only to make the government look foolish, as all but fifty were acquitted.

Since the Armenian political societies, as well as Armenian sympathies, extended across the Russo-Turkish border, a method of conciliating the Armenians in Russia was to help their brothers in Turkey. This the tsarist government promised to do. The matter became more pressing when the Balkan wars broke out. The Russian government now feared that its own Armenians might be inspired to rise, help their brethren in Turkey, and try to form a nation; or else that the Armenians in Turkey, seeing the Turkish weakness and the Balkan example, would revolt and the conflagration would spread across the Russian border, and also to the Armenians in the Russian sphere in northern Persia. Armenian demands in Turkey were championed by the Armenians in Russia and in the Duma by the Armenian deputy Papadjanov. The Russian government made renewed promises to its own Armenians that it would help those in Turkey. Many Russian Armenians demanded annexation of Turkish Armenia to Russia. Sazonov was emphatic that this was not possible but promised to see to reform within Turkey.[20]

Considerations of foreign policy added to the Russian desire to pose the Armenian question once again. In 1905 Russia had been turned back in the Far East and since then had been concentrating her efforts in the Near East. She had successfully won a sphere in Persia but had been unsuccessful in attempts to open the Straits and had not gained from the Balkan wars. A question of prestige was involved, in a sense: Russia needed a foreign success to appease public opinion after her many failures.[21] But an active policy with regard to Armenia would have further practical value. This was true especially because of the strategic position of Turkish Armenia. The mineral and agricultural resources of that section were attractive,[22] but the strategical implications far overshadowed the economic. A Russian control over Turkish

[20] For a tirade against Russian policy before 1905 see E. Aknouni, *Les plaies du Caucase* (Geneva, 1905); also Varandian, pp. 65 ff. For Vorontzov's policy see Maxime Kovalevsky, "La Russie et les arméniens," *Rev. pol. internat.*, I (April, 1914), 348–52; B. A. Bor'ian, *Armeniia, Mezhdunarodnaia Diplomatiia i SSSR* (Moscow, 1928–29), I, 337–44; Buxton and Buxton, pp. 22–24, 52–68. Also Otto Hoetzsch, *Russland* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 493–95; Serge Sazonov, *Fateful Years* (New York, 1928), pp. 138 ff.; *Internationalen Beziehungen,* 1st series, I, no. 210; Pavlovitch, in *Rev. pol. internat.*, I, 465; Ivan Loris Melikov, *La révolution russe et les nouvelles républiques transcaucasiennes* (Paris, 1920), pp. 84–86; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 492, 493, 494; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VI, no. 619; Friedrich Stieve, ed., *Der diplomatische Schriftwechsel Iswolskis* (Berlin, 1924), III, 165–66; *Orange Book,* no. 2; René Pinon, *La suppression des arméniens* (Paris, 1916), p. 7.

[21] *Grosse Politik,* XXXIV, Pt. 1, no. 12734.

[22] William Eleroy Curtis, *Around the Black Sea* (New York, 1911), pp. 66–69.

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Armenia would safeguard the Persian sphere of influence and the Russian Transcaucasus, and would provide a basis for future expansion either South or West. In 1912–1913 the control of Armenia would be particularly useful in settling a Turco-Persian boundary dispute, in which Russian interests were involved. Until 1911, when Turkey became involved in the Tripolitan war, Turkish forces had been encroaching on Russia's Persian sphere near Lake Ourmiah, pushing north to Diliman, Khoi, and Makou.[23] Although since 1911 the Turks had not advanced, Russia still felt the threat.

In all these considerations of strategy, Erzerum was the key point. This city, populated largely by Armenians and situated in the center of the most pronouncedly Armenian region, dominated all the roads from Russia into Turkey: the roads to Diarbekir and Harput and the Euphrates Valley, to Bitlis and the Tigris Valley, to Trebizond and Sivas, to Ankara and Constantinople, and to Alexandretta. The campaign of 1877 had shown its importance to Russia.[24]

When Russia was occupied in the Far East, and then with her own revolution of 1905, she depended on her treaty of 1900 with Turkey to keep other powers out of Armenia. Under this agreement no railroad concessions could be given in Turkish regions adjacent to Russia without Russian consent.[25] By 1912 Russia had regained some of her strength, while Turkey was weakening. Still, Russian policy in 1912–1914 was not one of immediate annexation of Armenia, nor of a drive through Armenia to Alexandretta or the Straits. Military occupation of Armenia was to be considered only if Russian reform plans failed. Russia was not yet prepared for military action against Turkey, for her own Caucasus railroads were incomplete, and she could not operate effectively within Turkey. Sazonov reported to the tsar toward the end of the crisis that territorial annexation at the moment would do Russia no good. Vorontzov-Dashkov added that it might only increase Russia's troubles by increasing her Armenian minority. Ultimate annexation was probably con-

[23] *Asie française,* XII (May, 1912), 178–79. This controversy was settled only in November, 1913, by a commission. Mandelstam, *Le sort,* p. 71; C. H. D. Ryder, "The Demarcation of the Turco-Persian Boundary in 1913–14," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* LXVI (July-December, 1925), 227–42.

[24] On Armenia as a strategic problem see Schlagentweit, p. 36; E. von Hoffmeister, *Durch Armenien* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 119; Paul Rohrbach, *Die russische Weltmacht in Mittel- und Westasien* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 154–75; Max Friedrichsen, *Die Grenzmarken des Europäischen Russlands* (Hamburg, 1915), pp. 145 ff.; Pavlovitch, in *Rev. pol. internat.,* I, 464, 478; K. T. Kaïrallah "La question arménienne," *Questions diplomatiques et coloniales,* XXXV (Jan. 16, 1913), 68–71; M. Phillips Price, "The Problem of Asiatic Turkey," *Contemporary Review,* CV (February, 1914), 218; E. J. Dillon, "Russia's Solution of the Armenian Problem," *ibid.,* CV (January, 1914), 126–28.

[25] *Asie française,* XII (August, 1912), 347; René Marchand, ed., *Un livre noir* (Paris, 1923?), II, 363–72.

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templated, and was certainly in the minds of many Russians.[26] The *Novoye Vremya,* opposing German penetration in Anatolia, spoke openly of "our South . . . our natural frontier, the historical conclusion of our centuries-old struggle with Turkey."[27]

Immediate Russian policy was rather to insure a sphere of influence in Armenia in case the Ottoman Empire should fall apart, and to keep Germany out of this sphere. The Berlin-to-Bagdad railway zone was still nebulous, but German activity among Cilician Armenians was great, and was increasing to the North in Van and Bitlis. Russia wanted to forestall Germany in gaining favor among Armenians.[28] Russian policy appeared annexationist to many outside observers because of her unofficial or semiofficial agitation among Turkish Armenians. Wangenheim, German ambassador to the Porte, was convinced that Russia was trying to stir up Kurds and Armenians to provoke a clash leading to military intervention.[29] Undoubtedly Russian agitators, some consular officials among them, gave money, arms, and advice to Kurds and Armenians. Some of the agitation may be explained by the fact that many of the individual Armenian revolutionaries in Turkey had come from Russian Transcaucasia. Sazonov, though opposed to expansion, probably countenanced "incidents" as a means of pushing through a Russian-controlled reform scheme in Turkey.[30]

Moved by these considerations of foreign and domestic policy, Sazonov was ready to sponsor the Armenian cause. He did this, in the first instance, through the Catholicos George V, head of the Gregorian Church, of which most Armenians were members. The seat of the Catholicos was at Etchmiadzin, at the foot of Mt. Ararat, in Russia; this geographical fact made Russian control of his actions easy. But since 1905 the Gregorians had adopted loyalism toward Russia, and George V was an ardent exponent of the new

[26] *Orange Book,* no. 1; Marchand, *loc. cit.;* A. Gervais, "La renaissance de l'Orient," *Nouvelle Revue,* 2d series, X (Nov. 1, 1913), 12–13; *Grosse Politik,* XXXIV, Pt. 1, no. 12734, and XXXVIII, no. 15284; Viallate et Caudel, VI, 392, 404. Bor'ian, I, 277–78, writes as if immediate annexation were the Russian aim. This is exaggerated. Felix Valyi, *Political and Spiritual Revolutions in Islam* (London, 1925), misconstrues *Orange Book* no. 1 to say Giers hoped for Russian military occupation shortly.

[27] Trans. in *Literary Digest,* XLVII (Aug. 16, 1913), 240.

[28] Alexandre Iswolsky, *Au service de la Russie* (Paris, 1937), I, 41. The American Congregational Board *Report* for 1913 states, p. 69, that German missionary activity had increased in Adana, Marash, Harput, Urfa, and Van. For Wangenheim's definition of the German sphere, see *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15312, wherein Diarbekir and Van are included. See also Harry N. Howard, *The Partition of Turkey* (Norman, Okla., 1931), *passim.*

[29] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15287.

[30] Walter Guinness, "Impressions of Armenia and Kurdistan," *National Review,* LXII (January, 1914), 800; Pavlovitch, in *Rev. pol. internat.,* I, 477; Valyi, pp. 198–201; Zarzecki, in *Rev. de Paris,* XXI, 893; *Grosse Politik,* XXXIV, Pt. 1, no. 12731; Mandelstam, *Armenische Problem,* pp. 113–17.

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spirit.[31] There was thus no difficulty in Russo-Armenian co-operation on this basis. George V appealed formally to the tsarist government to aid his Turkish brethren. He also appointed a delegation headed by Boghos Nubar Pasha, son of the Armeno-Egyptian statesman, to present the Armenian case to Europe in such a way as to prepare opinion for reform under Russia's aegis. This move was approved by the government, as was the program of the delegation, which demanded what amounted to an autonomous Armenia, under a European commissioner appointed by the Porte, and in which Christians and Moslems should share equally all military and administrative offices, as well as enjoying protection of their own languages and cultures. This was not mere subservience to Russia by the Catholicos and Nubar. They seem to have felt that in Russia lay the chief Armenian hope, and Nubar kept in touch with Iswolsky while making his representations in the Western capitals. Nubar was explicit in saying that the Armenians desired neither separation from Turkey nor Russian occupation, merely reforms. All through the year 1913, Nubar was occupied in Europe with this work.[32]

Sazonov also broached the problem in two other ways. Apparently on the initiative of Giers, his ambassador in Constantinople, he warned the Turks in early December, 1912, of the danger of the Armenian situation, and hinted at intervention.[33] Sazonov also sounded out the French and English cabinets as to the possibility of making effective such reforms as were contemplated in article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. He did not want to approach all the powers "because there would be disagreements, since the Balkan crisis still existed"; obviously, the Triple Alliance would seek to check Russian initiative.[34] But by January 2, 1913, Wangenheim knew of the Russian *démarches*.[35] The Armenian question was thus raised before all Europe.

In both England and France opinion was that consideration of the Armenian question should be postponed until the Balkans were peaceful. This was perhaps the reception Sazonov wished; he might then impose upon the Porte a purely Russian reform scheme, or he might even send a few Russian troops into Armenia on pretext of keeping order there. But France

[31] Etienne Taris, "L'état actuel des problèmes ethnographiques du Caucase," *Asie française*, XII (October, 1912), 427–32.

[32] *Orange Book*, nos. 12, 14; Mandelstam, *Le sort*, p. 211; Pavlovitch, in *Rev. pol. internat.*, I, 472; *Echos d'Orient*, XVI (March, 1913), 174; Bor'ian, I, 281; program printed in Buxton and Buxton, pp. 270–71; Marchand, II, 47; *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, no. 15286. See Nubar's notes, reprinted in Macler, *Autour de l'Arménie*, pp. 287–99; also in Ludovic de Contenson, *Les réformes en Turquie d'Asie* (Paris, 1913), pp. 112–19.

[33] *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, no. 15282 n.; *Orange Book*, nos. 1, 2, 3. Giers was worried lest Russia lose the initiative in this question through Armenian appeals to all the powers.

[34] *Orange Book*, no. 5; Mandelstam, *Le sort*, pp. 208–209.

[35] *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, no. 15282.

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added that she could countenance no unilateral action by Russia which might precipitate the partition of Anatolia.[36] Not only would German opposition be aroused by such a Russian move but French financial and railway interests in Turkey, which were dependent on the integrity of the country, would be jeopardized.[37] Sir Edward Grey did not, at this point, seem to fear any untoward Russian action.[38]

The German reaction to the news of Russia's *démarches* was almost explosive. Zimmerman, in the foreign office, at once announced that German interests demanded that she be consulted on the matter.[39] The Bagdad railway zone, extending across the Anatolian peninsula, was the object of his concern; it represented a heavy investment and contained many Armenians within its borders.[40] From January of 1913 onward the German diplomats, and particularly Wangenheim at Constantinople, expressed fear of a Russian partition of Anatolia. He described the Russian policy as one of deliberate provocation of incidents to provide an excuse for intervention and annexation. At times his reports grew almost fantastic, saying at one moment that the Russians were arming the Kurds to attack the Armenians and at the next that the Russians were causing Kurds and Armenians to ally in revolt. He suspected also, and the kaiser and a good part of public opinion supported him, that the Triple Entente had arranged to partition Asiatic Turkey. The 1907 treaty between Russia and England made Germans doubt that England would oppose Russia in Armenia, although by the Cyprus treaty of 1878 she was committed to do so. "The Russian bear wants Armenian honey," said the *Deutsch-Asiatische Gesellschaft.* The situation is "not at all rosy," reported Wangenheim. Grey continually assured Germany that no partition was contemplated, and that no agreement existed among the Triple Entente powers, but German fears continued. There was, in fact, no such agreement. These fears were in part well founded, however, with regard to the Russian designs.[41]

[36] *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, no. 475. Here it is stated that Sazonov spoke of the Armenian question as premature at this time. There can be no doubt that Sazonov meant to raise the question but was trying to reserve for Russia initiative and freedom of action. See also Marchand, II, 13.

[37] For these interests, see Howard, pp. 48–50; for an expression by these interests, Contenson, "La question arménienne en Turquie d'Asie," *Asie française,* XIII (January, 1913), 8–16. France was negotiating for the rights to a railroad network in Armenia: Schulthess, *Europäischer Geschichtskalender,* Neue Folge, LIV (Munich, 1915), 633.

[38] *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, no. 476.

[39] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15283.

[40] Howard, pp. 48–50; Edward M. Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway* (New York, 1923), pp. 1–142. See also Hugo Grothe, *Die Asiatische Türkei und die Deutschen Interessen* (Halle, 1913), treating the Armenian problem as central.

[41] On the German fears of Russian and Triple Entente action see *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15282, 15284, 15285, 15288, 15294, 15308; *Kölnische Zeitung,* Mar. 16, 1913, quoted in

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In a saner vein, Wangenheim outlined the proper action for Germany. He realized that the Armenian complaints were just, and advocated German co-operation with Turkey to make reform effective. In this way Russian interference would be avoided, for which the Turks would be grateful to Germany; in addition, the Armenians would see Germany as their friend. If necessary, Germany must act in concert with all the powers to achieve reform and prevent the partition of Turkey. The main object of Germany must be to prevent partition, for the Bagdad railway sphere was too large and nebulous as yet to fall to her completely. Germany must, nevertheless, insure herself against all contingencies. Therefore in a sphere four hundred kilometres wide, reaching from the Eskishehir-Adalia line to the Persian frontier, and including Van, Aleppo, and Alexandretta, Germany should put forth every effort to increase her influence by means of more consulates, German experts and merchants, and missions and schools. Such a sphere would, Wangenheim acknowledged, clash with France in Aleppo and Russia in Van, but he maintained it nevertheless. And with his conclusions Jagow, the foreign secretary, agreed. "To go away empty-handed," said the latter, "would be a second Morocco for us."[42] The warship *Goeben* was stationed off Mersina in early May, to prevent Armenian incidents.[43]

German opinion found staunch support in Italy and Austria. The Austrian military attaché in London suspected partition by the Triple Entente. Berchtold declared that neither Austria nor Italy would allow the Triple Entente to handle the reform question alone. Some in Austria suspected a Russian thrust toward Alexandretta.[44] Meanwhile, German protests against Russian action aroused in England the suspicion that Germany wanted to partition Anatolia.[45] Russian journalists now accused Germany of wanting to appropriate Anatolia entire, as compensation for having let Austria take Bosnia and Italy take Tripoli. The Russian ambassadors in Constantinople

Asie française, XIII (March, 1913), 135; Ernst Jäckh, "Vorderasien nach dem Balkankrieg," *Asiatisches Jahrbuch,* 1913, pp. 13–24. Dr. Jäckh thinks that Russia, thwarted by Britain in a drive to the Persian Gulf, is now trying to drive through the Bagdad railway sphere to Alexandretta. Also *British Documents,* IX, Pt. 2, nos. 542, 546, 555, 561, 1018, 1026, and X, Pt. 1, no. 476; Br. von Siebert, ed., *Graf Benckendorffs diplomatischer Schriftwechsel* (Berlin, 1928), III, nos. 837, 840. Also Adolf Grabowsky, "Die armenische Frage," *Zeitschrift für Politik,* VII (1914), 699–715.

[42] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15287, 15299, 15312, 15317. According to Pomiankowski, the Austrian military attaché in Constantinople, Wangenheim at first wanted a reorganization of Turkey by the Triple Alliance. Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit* (Vienna, 1922), III, 40.

[43] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15302.

[44] Conrad von Hötzendorf, III, 64; *Grosse Politik,* XXXIV, Pt. 1, no. 12730; Feldmarschalleutnant Otto von Gerstner, "Das klein-asiatische Problem," *Österreichische Rundschau,* XXXIV (Mar. 15, 1913), 409–15.

[45] *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 477, 478.

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and Berlin reported new German activity among Armenians, in opposition to Russia.[46] By the end of April, 1913, suspicion was intense on all sides.

The Turks had, meanwhile, not been inactive. As soon as the initial Russian moves were known, the Turks started on the elaboration of reform plans to forestall intervention. One such was drawn up in December, 1912, for the *vilayets* of Van, Bitlis, Harput, and Diarbekir.[47] On January 10 Mahmud Shevket became grand vizier in a *coup* led by Enver, and strengthened Turkish resistance to interference, while lending a sympathetic ear to the German representations. This ministry presented in March a new reform of all *vilayet* administration, granting a considerable degree of decentralization.[48] Wangenheim wanted to support Turkey in carrying out this project.[49] It was, he observed, the most that the Turkish government could do with safety at the time. This was probably true, for the defeat in the Balkans had served only to increase Turkish nationalism and the Turks' pride in their Anatolian homeland and to breed further enmity against Christians. The CUP government was sincere in wishing reforms and order but opportunist in its methods and not too friendly to the Armenians, despite their valiant service as soldiers in the Balkans.

In April the Turks, apparently with no German prompting, hit upon a clever tactical move in a request for English officials to help carry out their new reforms in the Armenian *vilayets*. These experts would control the gendarmerie, the system of justice, agriculture and forests, public works, and the interior department work. Soon Mahmud Shevket added a request for more English officials for the South and West of Anatolia. The Turks explained this move to Wangenheim as an effort to convince England of the Turk sincerity and efficiency in reform, to show England that Turkey would not fall apart, and so to win English consent to Turkish ownership of the Aegean islands; otherwise, the Turks believed, Britain would give Greece the islands for fear that some great power might take them away from a decaying Turkey.[50] There was doubtless some truth in this explanation, especially as regards Southwest Anatolia. But the whole offer was aimed at keeping Russia and England at odds on the Armenian question.[51] English officers in Armenia would be a guarantee not only of good administration

[46] *Literary Digest,* XLVI (Mar. 15, 1913), 464, quoting the *Novoye Vremya; Orange Book,* nos. 13, 16.
[47] Mandelstam, *Le sort,* p. 210; *Orange Book,* nos. 4, 6, 8 and annex.
[48] *Orange Book,* no. 15; Mandelstam, *Le sort,* pp. 51, 211.
[49] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15295.
[50] *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 479, 487; *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15303, 15305.
[51] *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik,* VI, no. 7417; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VII, no. 3.

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but against Russian encroachment. The Turkish demand was based on the Cyprus treaty of 1878, directed against Russia.

Wangenheim was delighted with this plan, and Jagow agreed to it also. The Germans approved partly because Shevket's plan gave Germany control of the reorganization of the Turkish army and of the educational system, and partly because they hoped to drive England and Russia farther apart. But they also saw visions of Anglo-German co-operation to protect Turkey, like another Egypt, and to prevent partition.[52] On Wangenheim's representations to Shevket that the British officers in Southwest Anatolia might infringe on the Bagdad railway sphere, the Turkish minister changed the locations for a few but stuck to his offer. Jagow wanted Wangenheim to insist that only German officers be near that sphere, but the ambassador replied that if the Turks were forced to abandon the Cyprus treaty as a basis for requesting foreign aid, Russia would have cause for asking that she too be represented by officials.[53] A few French experts were contemplated for finance reform. Russia was excluded entirely. For a moment there dawned the possibility of Anglo-German co-operation to put Asiatic Turkey on its feet and guarantee its integrity.

The British viewed the proposal with favor but at once wanted to inform Russia, for fear of awakening Russian suspicion if English officers should appear without explanation on the Russian frontier. Russia was so informed, and at the same time Grey promised the Turks that some officials would be sent, although not all that had been requested.[54] At once the Russian protest came, and in strong language. It boiled down to this: that Russia could not play second fiddle in the question of Armenian reform because of her paramount interest in the region next to her frontier, and because the promises made to her own Armenians demanded that Russia herself take the lead in Armenian reform.[55] Sazonov was also under pressure from his military men, who did not want foreign military experts on their frontier and who hated above all the Anglo-Indian officers who would doubtless be appointed.[56] In the face of this firm stand, England was not prepared to risk the loss of Russian friendship. Arguments on the part of England and France that if

[52] *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, nos. 15301, 15311, 15312, 15439, wherein the kaiser notes marginally about English and German aid to Turkey: "No go! Either or!" Also Jäckh, in *Asiatisches Jahrb.*, 1913, pp. 19–20; *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, no. 533.

[53] *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, nos. 15303–15311.

[54] *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, nos. 479–83, 485, 489, 491, 502.

[55] *Ibid.*, nos. 484, 486, 492–494; *Documents diplomatiques*, 3d series, VI, nos. 568, 581, 619; Stieve, III, 165–67.

[56] *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, nos. 494, 541; *Documents diplomatiques*, 3d series, VI, no. 581, and VII, no. 293.

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the Turks met refusal in England they would turn to Germany had no effect on Sazonov; he considered that Russian threats at the Porte would be sufficient to prevent such a move and said he would use force if necessary.[57] Slowly Grey backed down, and in July, 1913, agreed to postpone sending any officers until a conference of the powers should have considered the question of reform.[58]

The month of June, 1913, was spent in preparations for the proposed conference. Sazonov wanted to revive the 1895 Triplice and to allow the Triple Alliance no initiative concerning Armenia.[59] But neither France nor England wanted to make this a test case of the strength of the two combinations.[60] Effective reform, they saw, could come only from a united front. Grey was obdurate on this point and insisted that, in return for his concession on the question of officers, all six powers should take part.[61] Germany still hoped for Anglo-German co-operation but was worried by English complaisance toward Russia.[62] Ample justification for the German worry was the English deference to Russia on two more points: the Triple Entente should talk over reform plans before all six powers met, and the conference of ambassadors should meet not in London but in Constantinople, where the pressure of the Armenians and Russians would be greatest.[63]

Upon hearing on June 4 that Lichnowsky, the German ambassador in London, proposed to bring the Armenian question before the London Conference, then sitting on Balkan affairs, Grey hurried the Russians into sending out the call for a conference at Constantinople.[64] Thus Grey was able to give Russia credit for the initiative in the reform movement, but at the same time he made certain that henceforth all six powers would be included in discussions. From this time on Grey was a self-constituted mediator between the Russian and Turkish-German viewpoints, seeking to preserve Turkey and keep the friendship of both sides.

The Germans and their allies accepted the Russian invitation on condition that Turkish sovereignty and territorial integrity be upheld and that a Turk take part in the discussion. At once Sazonov objected, successfully,

[57] *Ibid.*, VI, nos. 599, 618, 619; *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, nos. 492, 493.

[58] *Ibid.*, no. 544; Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th series, LIV, 1458–59, 2170, and LV, 855–56, 1676. It is significant that the *Orange Book* does not take up the Anglo-Russian dispute over the British officers.

[59] *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, nos. 486, 488; *Orange Book*, nos. 23, 31.

[60] *Documents diplomatiques*, 3d series, VI, no. 618.

[61] *Ibid.*, no. 641; *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, nos. 494–96.

[62] *Ibid.*, no. 499; *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, no. 15314; *Documents diplomatiques*, 3d series, VII, no. 30.

[63] *Ibid.*, VII, no. 55; Stieve, III, 172; *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, nos. 492, 498.

[64] *Documents diplomatiques*, 3d series, VII, nos. 32, 45; *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, no. 501; *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, nos. 15320, 15321, 15325–15329; *Orange Book*, no. 32.

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that the Armenians would have no confidence in the reform if a Turk participated, and that the proceedings would be dragged out without end. It was obvious that Russian diplomacy was fighting every inch of the way to have a free hand in Armenia. Nor would Sazonov allow the discussion of a Turkish scheme. Grey and Pichon were becoming more annoyed at the Russian demands on their friendship, which would bring German and Turkish enmity and jeopardize the success of railroad negotiations then being conducted with Djavid Bey. The French had growing interests in an Armenian network and encountered Russian opposition on that score also. Sazonov also rejected the French proposal of a high commissioner *ad hoc* to keep Armenia quiet while discussions were taking place. A British proposal to lend the Turks six temporary gendarmerie officers met the same fate. The *entente préalable* between the French, English, and Russian ambassadors did not in the end carry much weight, for Pichon and Grey insisted that the plan to be discussed be presented as Russia's only, not as a concerted proposal by the Triple Entente.[65]

André Mandelstam, dragoman of the Russian embassy in Constantinople, was the author of this plan. It provided in essence for the creation of one province out of the six Armenian *vilayets*, under a governor general to be approved by the powers, and a mixed advisory council of Europeans, Turks, and Armenians.[66] Wangenheim at once characterized the scheme as a violation of Turkish sovereignty and the signal for the partition of Anatolia.[67] To him, such an autonomous province next to the frontier of Russia was tantamount to Russian annexation. The Russians actually intended neither annexation nor partition, although some elements within Russia desired this. Admittedly, the Mandelstam scheme tended to create Armenian autonomy.[68] But the German ambassador in St. Petersburg saw correctly that Russia had too many internal troubles to expand territorially, and that this was not Sazonov's policy.[69] And Giers pointed out that Russia was in no way prepared for the partition of Turkey; Armenian reform at most was the preparation of a Russian sphere in anticipation of such an eventuality.[70] Jagow and Grey both came to recognize the sincerity of Sazonov's protesta-

[65] *Documents diplomatiques*, 3d series, VII, nos. 86, 105, 119, 120, 121, 131, 140, 171, 186, 191, 222, 227; *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, nos. 15317, 15331, 15335, 15338, 15342, 15343; *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, nos. 505–12, 516, 518–26, 528, 530, 531, 536; Stieve, III, pp. 175, 180–81, 184; Mandelstam, *Le sort*, pp. 216–17; Marchand, II, 114–15; *Orange Book*, nos. 35, 37, 38, 40, 43–45, 49, 51.

[66] Mandelstam, *Le sort*, pp. 218–24; *Orange Book*, no. 50 annex.

[67] *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, nos. 15337, 15347.

[68] *Asie française*, XIII (June, 1913), 251; Pokrowski, *Internationalen Beziehungen*, 1st series, I, no. 210.

[69] *Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, nos. 15339, 15378. [70] Stieve, III, nos. 929, 951.

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tions that he contemplated no territorial expansion, but they insisted also that the Mandelstam plan led inevitably to it.[71] Sazonov countered with the assertion that if the Mandelstam plan were not adopted, the Armenians would revolt, Russian military intervention would be forced, and partition would then ensue.[72]

Here was the fundamental quarrel: Russia asserted that, without her plan, partition would result; Germany asserted that partition would result directly from the plan itself.[73] England, supported to some extent by France, agreed with Germany that the Mandelstam plan looked too much like the beginning of partition to be allowed; the cure was worse than the disease. England feared particularly the bad effects on her Indian Moslems of the partition of Moslem Turkey.[74] Pallavicini, the Austrian ambassador, who, as dean of the diplomatic corps in Constantinople, was to preside over the conference, at first would not even consider the plan. This was natural, inasmuch as Austria was not ready for a partition of Anatolia and had only the vaguest of claims near Adalia. Wangenheim, fearing that a rejection of the Russian plan without any consideration would cause an Armenian uprising, finally changed Pallavicini's mind sufficiently so that the conference could be held.[75]

This was the situation in the first week of July, 1913, before the conference. At this point the Turks, as might have been expected from their own practice, but perhaps also on German initiative, issued a new reform scheme of their own, providing for European officials but differing radically from the Mandelstam plan in that all control was to be in the hands of the Porte. Armenia was, in addition, split into two inspectorates.[76] Germany and England, although recognizing the need for some degree of European supervision if any reforms were to be effectively carried out, wanted to make this plan the basis of discussion in order to take control of the proceedings away from Russia.[77] This they were unable to do.

Under these conditions the conference of ambassadors met in the Austrian summer embassy at Yeniköy on the Bosporus. A deadlock was expected, and a deadlock ensued.[78] Russia, fairly well supported by France, and

[71] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15359; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 546, 554.
[72] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15349. [73] *Orange Book,* nos. 57, 58.
[74] *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VII, nos. 331, 345; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 532, 535, 542.
[75] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15340.
[76] Mandelstam, *Le sort,* pp. 224–25; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 533, 538; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VII, no. 298; *Orange Book,* nos. 42, 46, 54, and pp. 183–89.
[77] *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 534, 539, 540, 546; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VII, no. 289; *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15359.
[78] Mandelstam, *Le sort,* pp. 225–34, on the conference, and *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, no. 567; *Orange Book,* pp. 190–272, gives the *procès-verbaux.*

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partially supported by England, advanced her plan as the only way to prevent an Armenian rising and subsequent intervention and partition. The Triple Alliance, pleading the Turk case as well as its own, stood united against it.[79] Germany was the more determined to oppose it because the plan contemplated the inclusion of part of what Wangenheim regarded as the Bagdad railway sphere. Thus it was that Germany bore the onus of stopping the Russian plan, and in effect pulled the English chestnuts out of the fire.[80] Had the Mandelstam plan been forced on the Porte and had it brought the partition which was feared, English problems in the Mediterranean region would have been complicated, and English prestige among the Indian Moslems would have suffered.

The Yeniköy conference had failed to provide any solution to the Armenian question. Toward the end of July, when the futile sessions were just over, a new scare was thrown into diplomatic circles. Russian troops were reported concentrating on the Turkish border, near Mount Ararat.[81] It appeared that Russia, worsted in the Adrianople question, was on the verge of occupying a few cities in Armenia as a means of forcing the Turks to give up the disputed stronghold. The German ambassador in St. Petersburg suspected such a move, and Said Halim, the grand vizier, remarked to Pallavicini that this would not force the Turks out of Adrianople.[82] Had the Russian occupation occurred, the Armenian question would have been settled, and partition of Turkey would presumably have resulted. French remonstrances, which were immediate and strong, served to thwart the move; the French had at no time wanted to partition Anatolia, and were now in the process of concluding with the Bagdad railway interests an agreement which would have come to nothing if the Russian army had marched.[83] The extreme tension was soon over, but the powers were now spurred on to settle the Armenian problem.[84]

Further incentive to find a speedy solution was furnished the powers by

[79] Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman* (London, 1922), p. 271, says that Turkey viewed the Mandelstam plan as establishing a Russian protectorate.

[80] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15344, 15361.

[81] London *Daily Telegraph,* July 26, 1913, cited in *Armenia,* VII (September, 1913), 54–55.

[82] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15366; *Aussenpolitik,* VI, nos. 8019, 8020; Stieve, III, nos. 970–72. See also Giers's account of Dr. Lepsius' warnings to the Armenians on this point: *Orange Book,* no. 61. For the Adrianople question see Ernst C. Helmreich, *Diplomacy of the Balkan Wars* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 400–406.

[83] Marchand, II, 112, 114; Robert de Caix, "Les chemins de fer d'Asie Mineure," *Asie française,* XIII (August, 1913), 333–36.

[84] The Russian threat is interpreted by Stieve (in *Iswolsky and the World War,* tr. by E. W. Dickes [London, 1926], p. 156) as a thrust at the Straits after failure to reach them through the Balkans. This statement is echoed by Erich Brandenburg, *From Bismarck to the World War,* tr. by A. E. Adams (Oxford, 1933), p. 455. Stieve thinks the Armenian question was raised for

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the growing Armenian unrest, which increased particularly after it became known that England would send no officers, and that the conference of ambassadors had reached no agreement. Conditions were as bad as ever. The Kurds were evidently preparing a rising and receiving some encouragement from unofficial Russian *agents provocateurs*.[85] Armenians were murdered near Bitlis at the rate of twenty-seven a month. "Depression among the Armenians is great," wrote a missionary on the spot. "All who are able are trying to get away. Fifty are on the point of leaving Bitlis. Those left behind are being driven to desperation; they incline either to appeal to the Russian consul for protection or flee to the mountains."[86] Although still divided in counsel, more and more Armenians tended to look to Russia as the only protector, if also a despotic one.[87] Their disgust with the concert of powers was evident. "Lots of words make no *pilaf*," they complained. The editor of the Armenian paper *Avedaper* wrote: "We have been deceived quite long enough. The *Times*, the *Temps*, the *Novoye Vremya*, and the *Berliner Tageblatt* have nothing new to say, more especially as our wound is not of those that are healed of ink." He told his people that Russia might extend her Persian sphere into Turkish Armenia.[88] The Turks poured oil on the flames when the *Tasvir i Evkiar*, official CUP organ, chose this moment to label as a traitor the Armenian who was urging reform in the Western capitals, Boghos Nubar.[89]

Although a failure, the conference had at least clarified the situation. Out of it, as well as out of the Armenian unrest, came desires for compromise. The British had early said the obvious, which needed saying: that the Russian plan was of no use because it led only to disagreement, that any effective action had to be united, and any effective reform had to be accepted voluntarily by the Porte. The French, at the end of the conference, sought a basis to conciliate the Turk and Russian plans.[90] The Italians, starting

the purpose of getting to the Straits after the Balkan League collapsed, whereas actually it was raised six months before the Balkan League broke up. Pourtalès (*Grosse Politik*, XXXVIII, no. 15339) saw that the ultimate objective of the Straits could not be gained for some years. Baron M. de Taube, *La politique russe d'avant-guerre* (Paris, 1928), pp. 305–307, shows that the Imperial Council recognized in July, 1913, that neither the Russian army nor the navy was ready for action.

[85] Guinness, in *Nat'l Rev.*, LXII, 789–801; Buxton and Buxton, pp. 32–51; Staatsrat von Hahn, "Das sterbende Armenien," *Asien*, XII (August, 1913), 186; *Near East*, V (May 16, 1913), 31.

[86] *Missionary Herald*, CIX (August, 1913), 345.

[87] Diana Apcar, "Russian Occupation of Armenia," *Armenia*, VII (August, 1913), 8–9.

[88] Quoted in *Literary Digest*, XLVII (July 5, 1913), 10.

[89] *Near East*, V (July 4, 1913), 239.

[90] *British Documents*, X, Pt. 1, nos. 547, 555; *Documents diplomatiques*, 3d series, VII, no. 515.

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to delimit a sphere in Adalia and to negotiate a railway concession with Turkey, wanted peace and quiet.[91] The Austrians were even less prepared for an explosion or partition of Turkey.[92]

The chief antagonists, finally, were of a similar mind. Sazonov, convinced that the Russian plan could be imposed neither by Russia nor by the Triple Entente, was irritated but realistic. "Why this name of Triple Entente if six powers have to agree?" he expostulated and approached Berlin with suggestions for a new agreement.[93] If he could not get the autonomous Armenia that Russian foreign policy would have liked, it was still important to appease the Russian Armenians with reforms and to stop the danger of a revolt in Turkey. The Germans astutely reasoned that to join with Russia was to prevent any individual Russian action. This policy would tone down the Russian plan and restore Germany's prestige among the Armenians. If Russia would not compromise at all, Germany could back the Porte's plan of reform, and Russia would have to join in the move if she were to gain any credit among her own Armenians.[94]

There is no need to follow in detail the negotiations which occupied the autumn of 1913.[95] Giers and Wangenheim were given, in effect, a mandate by the six governments to come to an agreement which might be acceptable to the Porte. Neither ambassador conceded more than a bare minimum at each step, and neither attributed to the other any motives but those of basest self-interest. The conversations were aided by more amicable relations between the foreign offices at Berlin and St. Petersburg. For a time the French were worried that this apparently friendly co-operation meant a weakening of the Franco-Russian alliance, and Bompard was set to inquiring in Constantinople as to what was really going on.[96] There was, in reality, no ground for the French suspicions. In the middle of September, Giers and Wangenheim produced a plan which accepted the Turkish proposal of two inspectorates for Armenia, the inspectors to be recommended by the powers and to have rather extensive control over administration.[97]

[91] *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 152, 157; *Asie française,* XIII (August, 1913), 357–58.
[92] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15376.
[93] *Ibid.,* no. 15373; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VIII, no. 99; *Orange Book,* no. 59.
[94] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15361, n., 15369, 15375; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, no. 567. Boghos Nubar declares that he personally persuaded the Wilhelmstrasse to co-operate further in the reform question: Boghos Nubar, *Note sur la question arménienne* (Paris, mimeographed 1916), pp. 8–10.
[95] The negotiations may be followed in *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15369–15400; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 568–72; Marchand, II, 362; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VIII, nos. 135, 171, 296; *Orange Book,* nos. 62, 63, 65–69, 73–79.
[96] *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VIII, nos. 176, 179; *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15394, 15395.
[97] *Ibid.,* nos. 15386–15392; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VIII, nos. 191, 208, 240; Mandelstam, *Le sort,* pp. 234–36; *Orange Book,* no. 78.

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This plan was approved by the other powers, and the two ambassadors set out to talk the Porte into acceptance. Here they suffered a setback.

The Turks naturally wanted to institute their own reform plan and had been going through all manner of contortions to avoid foreign control. In July they had approached Sweden and Belgium for officers, but these nations circumspectly submitted the proposals to the approval of some of the great powers, and Giers and Wangenheim objected.[98] In the fall of 1913 several factors combined to stiffen the resistance of the Turkish government, now really a dictatorship of Enver, Talaat, and Djemal: they saw the failure of the powers to agree, they were encouraged by their triumph in retaining Adrianople, and they were assured by French financiers that Russia would never use force in Armenia.[99]

Said Halim appeared at first to be agreeable to the new scheme, but he deferred to the CUP, which made plain its opposition. "They want to make little Lebanons everywhere," complained Said.[100] Reform and order were desired by the CUP, and the *Sabah* and *Iḳdam* prodded the government to action, but foreign control the Turks would not have.[101] They reverted in October to the old measure of asking for British officials, and in particular for Sir Robert Crawford, whose work in reorganizing the customs house had been excellent. The British government naturally snuffed out these Turkish hopes.[102] Another logical move was made in the direction of direct Turk-Armenian conciliation. This effort was difficult at best because of the divisions among the Armenians and was rendered nugatory by the inability of either side to make any real concessions; the Turks were proud and nationalist, the Armenians too suspicious to trust to mere bilateral agreements.[103] In the end the Turks were unable to solve their problem for themselves but succeeded in thwarting the Giers-Wangenheim plan, which could not be forced on the Porte because the powers were split on so many issues, particularly on the question of the Aegean islands.[104]

Negotiations continued on a new line which the Turks themselves, play-

[98] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15356; *Aussenpolitik,* VII, no. 8183; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 564–66.

[99] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15399; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VIII, no. 118.

[100] *Ibid.,* no. 296; *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15399. For Turkish counterproposals, see *Orange Book,* nos. 86, 88, 91, 92.

[101] *Le Temps,* Nov. 26, 1913, interview with Djavid Bey, cited *Asie française,* XIII (November, 1913), 485; *Literary Digest,* XLVII (July 26 and Aug. 16, 1913), 123, 240; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 581, 586 n.

[102] *Ibid.,* nos. 569–79; Djemal, p. 272.

[103] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15381; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 567, 586; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VIII, no. 124; Macler, *Autour de l'Arménie,* pp. 306–11; Djemal, p. 275; *Near East,* VI (Jan. 2, 1914), 283; *Asien,* XIII (November, 1913), 43; *Asie française,* XIII (November, 1913), 461–65.

[104] *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, no. 586 n.

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ing for time, suggested—the creation of counselors, to be attached to inspectors in Armenia and to be named by the powers. Some progress was made in this direction by the beginning of December, 1913, and Wangenheim and Giers were slightly more hopeful.[105] Djemal, however, voiced absolute opposition to any foreign control, although he would welcome foreign experts under Turk direction.[106] The Turks seem to have feared at this point that Russia and Germany might be planning a partition of Anatolia.[107]

In the midst of this slow process of bargaining, the Liman von Sanders affair burst on the diplomatic world, threatening to bring the corollary of a forceful solution to the Armenian problem. Sazonov contemplated the occupation of Bayazid and Erzerum as a means of forcing Turkey to give up this appointment which, in Russian eyes, meant German control of the Straits.[108] It is questionable whether Sazonov would actually have done this. Giers advised only concentrating troops on the Caucasus frontier, and informing the Armenians that this was not to be regarded as support of Armenian revolt.[109] Both before and after the crucial last two weeks of 1913, Sazonov showed clearly that Russia was not prepared for military or naval action, and that her communications in the Caucasus were not sufficient to allow of any mobility.[110] German and French evidence supports this point.[111] And Sazonov later declared that he would not have carried out the threat, because it would have meant European war.[112] The episode served, nevertheless, to dim for a moment the chances of a peaceful solution to the Armenian question. Its end result, however, aided such a solution. It was apparent that Germany had made no great concession on the Liman appointment, and so to keep their advantage the Germans strongly counselled Said Halim to give in to Russia on several points in the Armenian affair.[113]

[105] Mandelstam, *Le sort,* pp. 235–36; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 576–86; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VIII, nos. 473, 514; *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15401–15409.

[106] *Ibid.,* no. 15406.

[107] *Aussenpolitik,* VII, no. 9068.

[108] E. Adamov, ed., *Die europäischen Mächte und die Türkei während des Weltkrieges* (Dresden, 1930), I, 81; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, no. 440.

[109] Siebert, III, no. 1002.

[110] Marchand, II, 363–72; M. Pokrowski, *Drei Konferenzen* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 65–66. Professor Fay seems to interpret a sentence here which says that "in the event of a struggle for Constantinople a clash on the Turkish frontier must be regarded as unavoidable" as meaning that Armenia was to be used as a road to the Straits. Sidney B. Fay, *Origins of the World War* (New York, 1928), I, 541.

[111] Freiherr von der Goltz, "Die militärische Lage der Türkei nach dem Balkankriege," *Asiatisches Jahrbuch,* 1913, p. 7; Maurice Larcher, *La guerre turque dans la guerre mondiale* (Paris, 1926), pp. 374–79.

[112] Sazonov, p. 136.

[113] R. J. Kerner, "The Mission of Liman von Sanders, IV," *Slavonic Review,* VII (June, 1928), 104; *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15411. Mutius, the German embassy counsellor, gives himself credit for persuading Talaat to agree to the plan: Gerhard von Mutius, "Die Türkei 1911–14," *Preussische Jahrbücher* vol. 236:3 (June, 1934), p. 213.

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On Christmas day it appeared to Wangenheim that the Armenian matter was settled. Said Halim had agreed to ask the powers to recommend inspectors. The kaiser sent congratulations to his ambassador, and Sazonov asked Iswolski to let Boghos Nubar know of the happy outcome. A formula was agreed upon which saved the Turk prestige, and gave the powers some influence over the administration of reforms.[114] Then came another halt, all the more exasperating because a solution was so near.

The cause of the new trouble is hard to determine. The Turks and the Germans claimed that Sazonov suddenly demanded concessions on some fresh points: parity of Moslems and Christians in the Armenian assemblies and military service for Armenians in their own *vilayets* were the chief of these.[115] He had, in fact, suddenly become more demanding.[116] It is probable that Sazonov was seeking revenge for the Liman appointment, and for the rise of the militarist Germanophil, Enver, to be minister of war. The Turkish Armenians seem also to have pressed Sazonov for greater advantages.[117] The Turks, for their part, wanted to squeeze the last piastre out of the year-long bargaining.[118] The Russian consul at Erzerum raised the cry of imminent massacre. This report the French and British consuls declared exaggerated, and the German consul said that nothing but a pistol match by a sport club was going on.[119]

These conditions offer at least a partial explanation of Sazonov's sudden obduracy. In view of his attitude hitherto, it is improbable that he should have wanted to perform such a quick *volte-face* as to jeopardize the results of months of negotiation; chauvinist and Armenophil elements beyond his control must bear a part of the blame. In his memoirs Sazonov states that he regarded the details as of no significance compared to European control of Armenian reform, but now he was arguing over details, not over the control.[120] Gulkevitch, the Russian chargé d'affaires in Constantinople who completed the negotiations after Giers left, urged Sazonov to close the deal.[121] The other powers also pressed him to let some of the minor points go.[122] France had up to this point refused a loan to Turkey, in order to

[114] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15412, 15413; Stieve, *Diplomatische Schriftwechsel,* III, no. 1195; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, no. 587; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, VIII, nos. 674, 688; *Orange Book,* nos. 112–15.

[115] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15414–15418.

[116] *Orange Book,* nos. 106, 109, 110, 116–19, 121, 122.

[117] *Internationalen Beziehungen,* 1st series, I, no. 49.

[118] *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, IX, no. 25; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 588, 589; *Internationalen Beziehungen,* 1st series, I, no. 35.

[119] *Ibid.,* I, no. 17; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, IX, nos. 78, 107; *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15421; *Orange Book,* nos. 111, 128.

[120] Sazonov, p. 145. [121] *Internationalen Beziehungen,* 1st series, I, no. 190.

[122] *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, IX, nos. 225, 240.

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exert pressure for the acceptance of the Russian demands. Now it appeared that a loan might come from the United States through Morgenthau and Chester, thereby destroying the pressure and the French deal at the same time.[123] These considerations led Sazonov to yield, after he had won a few more concessions in the haggling with Turkey which, in the best oriental fashion, was drawn out until the first week in February.[124] On February 8, 1914, Russia and Turkey signed an accord on Armenian reform which stipulated that the powers should recommend verbally to the Porte two inspectors general, who should have a rather extensive control.[125] "The act of February 8 marks, without any doubt," wrote Gulkevitch, "the dawn of a new and happier era in the history of the Armenian people!"[126]

Not all factions accepted the agreement in good grace. The reality of foreign intervention rankled in the Young Turk breast.[127] Many Armenians regarded the plan as too weak to offer a real guarantee of reform, pointing out that the inspectors general, although European, were Turkish appointees.[128] Nor did unrest in Armenia subside because of the conclusion of the agreement.[129] The diplomatic crisis was, however, over. Two months of negotiation were required to find inspectors who should be agreeable to the Turks, the Armenians, and the six powers. Russia, aided by France, was able to control to some extent the choice of these officials. When the Dutch East Indies administrator, Westenenk, and the Norwegian major, Hoff, were finally chosen, Iswolski was able to write that "they understand the necessity of supporting Russia."[130] But from these negotiations no new crisis resulted.

Various interpretations were placed on the accord of February 8. Germans saw in it a victory over Russia.[131] To the Russian mind it meant a victory over Turkey and Germany—the agreement was a bilateral Russo-Turk affair, and Germany had, said the Russians, lost caste in the eyes of both Turks and Armenians by sabotaging the Mandelstam plan in an effort to gain Turk

[123] Stieve, *Diplomatische Schriftwechsel,* IV, nos. 1234, 1247, 1252.

[124] The last stages may be followed in *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15422–15424; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 588–90; *Internationalen Beziehungen,* 1st series, I, nos. 9, 35, 49, 63, 120, 123, 135, 163, 186, 190, 205; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, IX, nos. 56, 91, 96, 108, 202, 233; *Orange Book,* nos. 125–46.

[125] *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, IX, no. 362; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, no. 591; *Orange Book,* no. 147.

[126] *Internationalen Beziehungen,* 1st series, I, no. 210.

[127] Djemal, p. 276, says that one of the Turkish aims in 1914 was to get rid of the Russian-imposed reform.

[128] Diana A. Apcar, *The Case of the Armenians,* a pamphlet of June 8, 1914.

[129] *Missionary Herald,* CX (April, 1914), 180; *Asien,* XIII (May, 1914), 134.

[130] Stieve, *Diplomastiche Schriftwechsel,* IV, no. 1326. On the negotiations for inspectors see *ibid.,* nos. 1281, 1292, 1293, 1301; *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15426, 15428–15434; *British Documents,* X, Pt. 1, nos. 592–95; *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, IX, no. 156; *Internationalen Beziehungen,* 1st series, I, nos. 71, 177, 324, 333, 437.

[131] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, no. 15425.

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gratitude and then by urging weak reforms on the Porte to win Armenian thanks.[132] The French view was the sanest: Turkey and the Triple Alliance had obliged Russia to accept some fundamentals of the Turkish plan, but from Russia had come the initiative and motive power that had made possible any action at all.[133]

In point of fact, there were no losers. Turkey had a reform plan with a minimum of foreign control which might be expected to keep the Armenians quiet for a time, and she was saved from immediate partition. The Armenians had gained something which promised to be more than mere paper. Russia had not gained all the control over Armenia which she regarded as her right and necessity, but she gained some, and gained also some reforms with which to appease her own Armenians and minimize the danger of a revolt in Turkey; she had succeeded, moreover, in thwarting a purely Anglo-German reform of Anatolia, with Anglo-Indian officers in control of Armenia. Germany had not won all the influence in Anatolia which she wanted, but had averted what she regarded as a threat to the Bagdad railway sphere. France, England, Austria, and Italy had also gained by avoiding an explosion or partition of the Ottoman Empire.

This, in reality, was the chief benefit to all the powers. None wanted partition at that moment, and none wanted war at that moment over the Armenian question. Pallavicini, dean of the ambassadors in Constantinople, spoke for all as well as for Austria when he said that the time for partition was not yet ripe and that a period of consolidation of interests in Turkey was in everyone's interest.[134] The various foreign offices echoed this opinion frequently. Both Giers and Wangenheim, however, were convinced that the nation represented by the other wanted to control Turkey and appropriate large parts of Anatolia; each was certain, too, that it was his duty to exclude the other entirely from Anatolia. Their attitudes were at times almost fanatic.[135] But each, in fighting the other, helped to prevent the partition for which no one was ready and for which everyone was preparing feverishly against the time when it should be inevitable. Hence they clashed violently over the Armenian question. The threatened partition did not occur over this issue simply because no one wanted to take the final step.

[132] Stieve, *Diplomatische Schriftwechsel,* IV, no. 1261; *Internationalen Beziehungen,* 1st series, I, no. 210; Mandelstam, *Le sort,* pp. 70–71.

[133] *Documents diplomatiques,* 3d series, IX, no. 362.

[134] *Aussenpolitik,* VII, no. 8772. Mandelstam is hopelessly wrong when he says that intervention by the powers was entirely dissociated from national policy toward Turkey, and motivated only by humanitarianism. "La protection des minorités," *Recueil des Cours,* 1923, of the Académie du Droit International, p. 379.

[135] *Grosse Politik,* XXXVIII, nos. 15361, 15368, 15372; *Aussenpolitik,* VII, no. 8772.

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The Neglected First Half of American History

CARL BRIDENBAUGH*

THAT part of American history commonly called the colonial and Revolutionary periods (which may be said to begin in 1607, or earlier, and to end in 1776, 1783, or 1789) is chronologically one half of all American history.[1] This first half of American history, while by no means so complex or vast as its successor, is nevertheless of prime significance as a period in which present institutions took their origin and in which the existing way of life in this country germinated and received its character and direction. Notwithstanding these self-evident facts, there appears to have been a decline both in the teaching and in the encouragement of research in early American history on the college and university levels throughout the country. Is this true? If so, what has brought it about? Is a marked decline in interest in this field reason for alarm? If it is, how can such a trend be reversed?

Results of a survey of the status of early American history in Pennsylvania, which, as a leading eastern state with nearly as many colleges and universities as any in the Union and with an ingrained colonial heritage, may serve as an illustration of the situation prevailing throughout the United States. Of thirty-eight institutions solicited for information concerning history courses, twenty-eight responded. Analysis of the courses given yielded the following results:[2]

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[1] Founding of Jamestown to Declaration of Independence 169 years
Jamestown to the Treaty of Paris 176 years
Jamestown to the Constitution 182 years

Independence to the present day 171 years
Treaty of Paris to the present day 164 years
Constitution to the present day 158 years

[2] Courses on the history of most of the eastern and some of the midwestern states include materials on the colonial and Revolutionary periods, but state history is so narrow as to offer no suitable substitute for the broader treatment of early American history.

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1. Course in colonial period offered annually	5
Course in colonial period offered in alternate years	1
Specialized course in colonial period	2
Total	8
2. Course in the Revolution and Confederation	5
Course in early national period	4
Course in Pennsylvania history	17

It should be emphasized that the university which has the largest enrollment and which trains the largest number of graduate students offers a semester course in the colonial period in alternate years only, and that its catalogue lists no course in the American Revolution at all. It is abundantly clear that early American history is largely neglected in the state of Pennsylvania.

This condition prevails all over the country. In New England, which we usually think of as a center of colonial studies, a survey of history courses offered by nineteen leading institutions indicates that: (1) courses in the colonial period are offered annually by five,[3] and in alternate years by four—a total of nine out of nineteen; (2) courses in the American Revolution are offered annually by five[3] and in alternate years by one—a total of six out of nineteen; and (3) a course on the early national period is offered by one.

When we turn to the South, it is startling to discover that instruction in colonial history is available at only ten institutions and in the Revolution at eight. Moreover, one of these universities, an important graduate school, offers its two courses occasionally, rather than periodically. On the other hand, the University of North Carolina should be singled out for providing the best coverage of any institution in the United States. It offers two quarterly courses in colonial history, a special one on colonial civilization, one course on the Revolution, and another on the Federal period.

A sampling of courses taught in the rest of the country indicates a similar trend, as might be expected, although the early fields are strongly supported in the Middle West by the universities of Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and on the Pacific Coast by Stanford University, the University of Washington, and the University of California at Los Angeles.

Attention should be called to the fact that the women's colleges of the eastern seaboard devote more attention to colonial history than do the institutions for men. Courses are offered at Smith, Wellesley, Radcliffe, Pembroke,

[3] Radcliffe and Pembroke share in courses given by Harvard and Brown.

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Wheaton, Wells, Bryn Mawr, Randolph Macon Woman's College, Sweet Briar, and the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

The catalogues of ten of the largest and most influential graduate schools of the country show that the colonial period is taught in eight institutions (but only in alternate years by three of these); while the Revolution is taught in six (one of which offers it in alternate years). Seven out of ten outstanding graduate schools of smaller size provide courses in the colonial period (one of which is given in alternate years) and six teach the Revolution. Among the great centers for colonial studies of an earlier day the Johns Hopkins University offers nothing in the field, the University of Chicago pays it scant attention, and at Columbia courses are offered only in alternate years.

A parallel decline in printed doctoral dissertations and in the publication of historical articles bearing on early American history is also evident. Commenting on the offerings for publication in the *American Historical Review*, Guy Stanton Ford said in his annual report of 1945: "Almost as unrepresented [as ancient history] by any significant article is the field of American colonial history. Here, perhaps, the historians in the latter field are pausing to reassess their own research not as local history but as part of the history of the Atlantic community of an earlier day."[4] Whether or not Dr. Ford's surmise is correct, a count of items published in the *Review* since 1920 exhibits a significant decline.

ARTICLES, NOTES, AND DOCUMENTS ON EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1920–1947[5]

	Colonial	*Revolutionary*	*Early National*	*Total*
1920–1924	6	10	3	19
1925–1929	3	10	4	17
1930–1934	8	9	6	23
1935–1939	9	3	4	16
1940–1944	1	4	4	9
1945–	3	3	2	8

Thus early American history has suffered a partial eclipse which is reflected in: the shrinkage of time and attention given to it in the teaching of formal courses; the number of young scholars trained in this field; and

[4] *American Historical Review*, LI (April, 1946), 577.

[5] Compiled from Franklin D. Scott and Elaine Teigler, *Guide to the American Historical Review*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report for 1944* (Washington, 1945), Vol. I.

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the dwindling number of important published researches on the subject by historical journals.

Reasons for this decline are not difficult to assign. Some are real, others are only apparent. Basic perhaps, because the first to operate, was the inordinate overemphasis placed on the early period in college and graduate courses and in textbooks prior to 1920, and this at the expense of later and equally important historical periods. That the scales should have been tipped away from the colonial period was only natural. They were, however, tipped too far, so far in fact that there is a danger of losing the greatest of history's virtues—perspective.

The increasing emphasis on the national period and the seemingly greater opportunities for significant research in this newer field have served to draw the bulk of the graduate students in that direction. And where they have not been lured, they have often been guided. Recently trained doctors of philosophy in history, as they came to teach, naturally gave additional impetus to the drift by teaching courses and directing researches along the lines of their specialties, and their students have followed in the footsteps of their mentors. As professors of American history came to know less about the colonial and Revolutionary periods, these fields were passed over more and more hurriedly in their courses, or often omitted entirely.

The changed attitude was soon reflected in the textbooks. In recent years the terminal date for the first semester in survey courses has been placed at 1865. This demands racing through events from 1492 or 1607 to the outbreak of the Revolution, and then a slowing down until a steady pace is attained with the beginning of the national government in 1789. In fact, many texts begin with the year 1763, omitting all the earlier history. Moreover, the large majority of texts are written by historians who have never themselves become thoroughly familiar with the colonial period because their teaching and research interests center in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They often tend to view American history in terms of the problems of today. Such preferences are naturally reflected in their books, and even a cursory survey of most of the widely adopted texts gives the impression that the authors are relieved when they reach 1789. As a result, there is seldom any enthusiastic, interesting, informed, or even understanding presentation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in general courses. In survey courses, therefore, students are seldom given an opportunity to discover whether they wish to take an advanced course dealing with the first half of American history. Any incipient interest is literally choked off at the source.

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Other considerations of a fundamental nature have affected the teaching of early American history. There can be no question that emphasis on the frontier and the environmental interpretations of American development have weaned attention away from the Atlantic seaboard. Under the impact of two wars and the tremendous social changes of the twentieth century, our concepts of nationalism have undergone radical changes. Historians have been inclined to enlist in such movements as progressivism, the New Freedom, and the New Deal. They have also sought to lift democracy out of the context of a purely national tradition and identify it as universal.

Last, but far from least, is the doubt of the graduate student that he can get a job if he takes up the study of early American history. He sees the subject declining and he hesitates, in spite of a possible attraction, to make a "luxury field" his specialty. There is, unfortunately, in the lower academic ranks reason for this anxiety. And for the young man who has a university position there arises the query whether opportunities for professional advancement are not better in the later fields.

Such, then, is the situation as it appears today. It is at least arguable that among the well-established members of the historical guild in the United States a larger proportion of able men who combine research capacity, originality, and critical insight with the ability to synthesize their work with a high degree of literary talent is to be found working in early American history than in any other field. The names of Morison, Wertenbaker, and Gipson immediately occur in this connection. Only recently, too, the field has lost two great scholars in Charles M. Andrews and Evarts B. Greene. There are also highly competent and productive teachers and scholars in the next age-group. But there are few promising young men being trained today. In ten years, when the present distinguished personnel have retired, who will take their places?

In striking contrast to the growing indifference to early American history in the realm of higher education is the burgeoning interest demonstrated by the general public. Several groups of writers have sensed this and have encouraged it. Such historians as Carl Van Doren, James Truslow Adams, Bernhard Knollenberg, and Arthur Pound have discovered a ready market for their works. Alfred A. Knopf has seen fit to publish Gipson's *British Empire*. Three biographies of colonial worthies—Edwards, Franklin, and Paul Revere—have been honored with the Pulitzer Prize in the last ten years, and many other biographies have reached a considerable popular audience. Most conspicuous of all has been the vogue for historical novels employing colonial times as a background. A present leading best-seller is

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one which treats of the early 1800's. This point needs no laboring. It must be admitted that there is a widespread, even though undisciplined, public interest in reading about early American history, whatever form it takes. It is, moreover, being urged and stimulated by the press, notably in the surveys and articles published by the New York *Times* and, more concretely, by its support of the *Dictionary of American Biography* and Julian P. Boyd's edition of Jefferson's writings.

Membership and activity in the various patriotic societies have probably never been greater than at the present. Many of these bodies are seeking to promote the study of early American history by means of essay contests, prizes, and fellowships. A much narrower, though significant, field which absorbs untold energies of large numbers of people is genealogy. The horizons of these genealogists might be broadened by a wider contact with history.

Further evidence of public interest in colonial history is found in the mounting attendance at museums like those of the City of New York, the New York Historical Society, and the American wings of the Metropolitan, Boston, and Philadelphia art museums. Thousands flock annually to Ticonderoga, Valley Forge, Concord, Morristown, Jamestown, Yorktown, and similar historical sites. In the national parks and at Colonial Williamsburg a genuine effort is made to elucidate the historical significance of the exhibits. These educational efforts are reported to have met with a gratifying response from the public.

Widening popular awareness of early American history has also been stimulated by the "period" films of Hollywood (bad as they are), the rage for "colonial architecture," both domestic and collegiate, and the resurrection of handicrafts. The newest, and in a sense alarming, wrinkle in national advertising is the appeal made to history, especially to colonial history. Strange as it may seem, colonial history appears to copywriters of today to make a fresher appeal than sex. We cannot overlook, however, the fact that advertising men know far better than academics how to take the public pulse.

Indications of a widespread popular interest in early American history are abundant. Although they may vary greatly in breadth and depth, there is at least a latent interest and a small body of fact that can be capitalized upon in collegiate circles. Certainly, there is no active antagonism or resistance to be beaten down. And on the level of adult education the challenge is indeed very great.

It is more than probable that scholars and teachers have been allowing

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the case for early American history, like that of the humanities, to go by default. We have either been blind to the situation or have passively accepted what seemed to be inevitable. Conditions are now ripe for a concerted effort to re-establish the field as a prominent study. With the growing realization on all sides that democracy is not necessarily the terminal stage of historical evolution, men's minds are turning to the more remote past to seek an understanding of the origins of present-day concepts, institutions, and conditions. Particularly in the currently popular study of the history of ideas is it necessary to examine intensively the life and thought not only of Europe but of the colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The reviving interest of two great historical organizations as displayed in four sessions devoted to the colonial period at their annual meetings is significant.[6] Present class enrollments, because of abnormal conditions brought on by the return of the veterans, have produced a large attendance in courses on early American history. At Cornell, for example, thirty advanced students have exhibited great interest in a seminar on the Age of Washington. Professors of colonial history unanimously testify that once students become acquainted with it they enjoy early American history, especially the period of the Revolution.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture has been established to provide encouragement, support, and leadership in the renaissance of colonial studies through the *William and Mary Quarterly*, a program of grants-in-aid for mature scholars, researches by the staff, and by calling such meetings as the Conference of Colonial Historians, held at Princeton last March. Response from the workers in the field has invariably been enthusiastic and co-operative. Even more encouraging, perhaps, are the concern and sympathy with our problem evinced by scholars specializing in the later periods of American history. They had not been aware of its existence. They see its relation to their own areas and they are thinking about it. Perhaps we have already reached the beginning of the upswing since the problem is defined. At any rate, now is the time to act.

Firm in the belief that the solution of the problem rests with the college professor even more than with the students, the Institute determined upon a program calculated to bring to the attention of professors of history the importance of teaching and research in the first half of American history. The calling of the Princeton conference was actually the first step.[7]

[6] The Southern Historical Association at its Savannah meeting, and the American Historical Association at its meeting in Cleveland, in 1947.

[7] *The following teachers and scholars met at Princeton, New Jersey, on March 28–29, 1947,* to discuss the problem of early American history: Thomas J. Wertenbaker of Princeton, chairman;

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The conference devoted much thought to devising ways and means for stimulating interest in the teaching of colonial and Revolutionary history by professors now in the colleges.[8] These assumed the form of suggestions for the consideration of those who share the belief of the conference that to secure a proper perspective of American development the balance should be redressed. The suggestions fall into two groups: those for courses; and those for conducting research.

A. *Courses.* Experienced teachers agree that the students of today are more attracted by a synthesis of the colonial period than by the old-fashioned chronological or colony-by-colony approach. Moreover, they prefer social and cultural history to the so-called arid narrative of political happenings. The former approach gains by the avoidance of repetition of the events covered in grade school and high school and gives to the period a meaning which dispels the "ye olde" concept of colonial days. Undergraduates, however, lack essential political background and are consequently often interested by the presentation of political history in terms of methods of political control. When they discover the forces underlying politics, they become interested. On the graduate level one cannot assume a knowledge of political factors either; but by the assignment of a standard text as a reference manual it is possible to stress in class the economic, social, and cultural aspects of the subject.

Increasingly, most students, especially the veterans, are calling for interpretation rather than a recital of facts in the lecture hall. This approach is made relatively easy by the existence of several excellent texts, and by the availability of unusually fine materials for collateral readings, both in the sources and in secondary works, which are readily procured in most libraries. Among source readings for the seventeenth century, for example, are J. F. Jameson's *Original Narratives of Early American History* and Miller and Johnson's *The Puritans;* for the eighteenth century materials exist in abundance; and for the Revolution there is the excellent and highly teachable collection of Professor Morison. Among the secondary readings are some of the finest of American historical writings, either in the extended treatments of Parkman, Adams, and Wertenbaker, or in the briefer works of a host of

Carl Bridenbaugh, Institute of Early American History and Culture; Wesley F. Craven, New York University; Merrill M. Jensen, University of Wisconsin; John A. Krout, Columbia University; Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina; Edmund S. Morgan, Brown University; Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois; Charles S. Sydnor, Duke University; and Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College.

[8] In this connection, see the illuminating article by Lester J. Cappon, "The Need for Renewed Interest in Early Southern History," in the *Journal of Southern History,* XIV (February, 1948).

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writers. So plentiful are these collateral materials that it is possible to parallel class lectures and discussions with attractive readings and thereby avoid duplicating the lectures. Thus students can no longer assert, as they frequently do, and often rightly, that they are bored by being required to read what they have already heard in class. And they will also be brought to do some thinking of their own.

The educational experience of the armed forces has proved with finality the prime value of visual instruction. The Army and Navy are years ahead of the colleges in this method. For the study of early American history, fortunately, rich materials are available and more are expected soon. From the educational department of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., for example, can be procured free of charge the color film "Eighteenth Century Life in Williamsburg, Virginia," which experts have pronounced the finest educational film yet produced and which the State Department is circulating in over fifteen countries. By photostats and inexpensive microfilm processes all manner of stimulating and useful classroom illustrative materials can be employed to assist students in visualizing the life of earlier times. The value of such techniques in the development of historical imagination is patent. Only a beginning has been made in this approach to the teaching of history, but for the early periods it holds great promise for undergraduates and graduates alike.

No immediate thronging of students to resurrected courses on early American history can be anticipated, nor is it desirable. If, however, a vital, thought-provoking and interesting course is presented, a modest success will follow. A more balanced survey course, permitting enough time to do the early period justice, and the use in it of a more balanced text, which devotes more than fifty pages to the colonial period, will draw the attention of students to the importance and attractiveness of more specialized courses.

The period of the American Revolution and the formation of the Constitution (1763–1789) calls for particular emphasis. From the point of view of American history as a whole, this is a subject as weighty as the Civil War or the recent conflict. It is the period of transcending significance in American development when seen in the light of world history. Here is a great seminal era in which were generated the ideas and institutions that not only dictated the future course of American history but also profoundly influenced the development of the Western world. In a word, the concepts for which we contest today stem from these vital years. It is unthinkable that the study of the most important era of our history should be permitted to wither away. Political scientists and students of intellectual

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history should not continue alone in the realization that the study of the American Revolution is antecedent to any proper comprehension of the problems which confront us today. It may be asserted that no period of American history provides greater interest or stimulates more thought in both teacher and student than the era of the Revolution.

B. *Early American history as a field for research.* The conference confidently stated that early American history offers a challenging field for fruitful research. Rather than being mined out, as so many scholars think, many veins in the field have yet to be opened. In respect to imperial relations only can it be maintained that colonial history has "all been written," and even there work remains to be done. Proofs of the possibilities for new studies and interpretations of the colonial period are legion. Able scholars are constantly publishing fresh and significant evaluations based on new materials. And it should be emphasized that many of these studies cast a strong light on nineteenth and twentieth century developments.

For no other section of American history are so many sources printed, photostated, or microfilmed, or so readily accessible in conveniently reached archival repositories. A large corpus of materials on English backgrounds has been reproduced and deposited in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Colonial records have been published by all the original states except Massachusetts and South Carolina. In the publications of the large number of historical societies, local as well as state, may be discovered a rich mine of virtually unworked materials of great value. Sets of these publications are located in the libraries of the large universities and in those of many colleges. For the modest expenditure of $375.00, for example, can be purchased the "American Culture Series" of microfilms consisting of 253 pamphlets and books ranging from the letter of Columbus in 1493 to the essays of Benjamin Rush, 1806, and embracing the whole of American life and thought—political, institutional, economic, social, scientific, and cultural—in twenty-six reels. For a similar price may be had all known American periodicals to 1800. In like fashion students of early American history are well supplied with calendars, guides, bibliographies, and check lists such as the Greene and Morris guide to manuscripts in New York City, and C. S. Brigham's monumental list of newspapers printed before 1820. Nor are vehicles for publication of researches lacking. Besides well-known journals like the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* the *Journal of Southern History*, the *New England Quarterly*, and the *William and Mary Quarterly* there are such prominent state magazines as *New York History*, the *Pennsylvania Magazine* and the *North Carolina Historical*

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Review, as well as the proceedings of numerous local and county historical societies. In every respect conditions and facilities for the pursuit of research in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries compare more than favorably with those of any other period.

The expanded view of history taken in recent years will necessitate a thoroughgoing reassessment of the entire field of early American history, and, it is believed, will result in a new and significant synthesis that will naturally alter many concepts about American history since 1790. New texts are needed as well as longer treatments of the period from which the texts can be compiled. A highlight of the conference was the discovery by members from widely scattered areas, who had not "talked shop" since before the war, that they had all been thinking along the same lines during their "enforced isolation." It was agreed that there are two prominently neglected areas of research: the period 1680–1750, and the years 1776–1789. A report on the unexplored areas of early American history will shortly be published in the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

The Princeton conference does not recommend any root and branch action. Still less does it seek to inculcate any narrow theory of intense nationalism. It endeavors only to redress a balance, because the members believe that a knowledge of early American history is not a "luxury" but a "necessity," especially for those who plan to become teachers of American history. We are concerned principally with the matter of emphasis. The solution of the problem lies in the hands of our colleagues, the professors of American history. To them the conference earnestly presents the following recommendations:

1. That in survey courses in the colleges more time and attention be given to the treatment of the years 1607–1790.
2. That text writers increase the space given to early American history in their books.
3. That advanced courses in early American history be offered, by the colleges and especially by the universities (preferably annually). In particular, a course on the American Revolution is necessary.
4. That in the colleges promising students should be urged to consider early American history as a field for graduate study.
5. That both colleges and universities seek to encourage research in the field and point out the unexplored areas of early American history.
6. That serious consideration be given to devising ways and means whereby historians, patriotic societies, and historical societies may join forces in the common cause of education in American history. Thus the cause of early American history can be strengthened measurably and the danger of excessively chauvinistic interpretations of our past be considerably lessened.

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The conference firmly believes that our understanding of our institutions and our democracy will remain imperfect unless we know their origins, and the story of their development. There is a grave danger of a fundamental misconception of American historical processes if we continue to overemphasize the contemporary. American historians cannot afford to ignore their own past or to abdicate the prime office of the historical scholar which is to assume the long-range point of view.

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John Marshall on the Judiciary, the Republicans, and Jefferson, March 4, 1801

RICHARD J. HOOKER*

ON the morning of March 4, 1801, John Marshall began a letter to General Charles C. Pinckney, the recently defeated Federalist candidate for vice-president. In this letter Marshall expressed his opinion on the general, and especially on the "present," importance of the judiciary, stated his intention not to disappoint his "friends" as chief justice, and went on to describe the Republican factions and to relate Jefferson to them. Later in the day, after he had administered the oath of office to Jefferson, Marshall added a postscript in which he briefly evaluated the inaugural address.[1]

Portions of this letter were published by Albert J. Beveridge in *The Life of John Marshall,*[2] but in a highly inaccurate version. Beveridge gives as his source a "MS. furnished by Dr. W. S. Thayer of Baltimore."[3] It is possible that Beveridge did not see the original manuscript but a defective copy. If this was the case, then his use of the letter does not strengthen charges, otherwise well founded, that he was unfair to Jefferson[4] and that he defended Marshall to the point of excluding material which might appear derogatory to him.[5]

Of the four paragraphs in the following letter, the first is entirely omitted by Beveridge, although the implications of its second sentence are significant. The second paragraph is understandably omitted. The third paragraph, as given by Beveridge, lacks the first two sentences, while the remainder has been remarkably changed in meaning. The omission of the word "not" from the sentence, "With the latter I am not disposd to class Mr Jefferson," takes

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[1] Marshall addressed the letter to "General Charles C. Pinckney, Charleston, South Carolina," and franked it "Dept. of State J. Marshall." The letter was given to the Charleston Library Society, Charleston, S. C., in 1933, as a bequest from the estate of Dr. W. S. Thayer. The editor is indebted to the society and to its librarian, Miss Ellen M. FitzSimons, for permission to publish it.

[2] (Boston, 1919), III, 11, 18. See notes 9 and 10, below.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, 11, n. 1.

[4] For the views of W. E. Dodd, Gaillard Hunt, H. J. Eckenrode, and Max Farrand, see Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 555–58.

[5] Tracy E. Strevey, "Albert J. Beveridge," *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography,* ed. by William T. Hutchinson (Chicago, 1937), p. 390.

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Jefferson from among the "speculative theorists" to place him among the "absolute terrorists"![6] Other variants include changes in punctuation and capitalization, the substitution of "will" for "may," "ranges" for "arranges," and "difficulty" for "calamity."

The "4 O Clock" postscript is more accurately rendered, though even here two sentences are merged into one, and a word is changed. The substitution of "this" for "his" is of some importance, for it links Jefferson's political theory to the "violent party declamation" which, Marshall wrote, was responsible for Jefferson's election.

WASHINGTON March 4th 1801

DEAR SIR

I had the pleasure of receiving a few days past your letter of the 11th Feb. For your friendly expressions on my late appointment I am infinitely oblig[d] to you. Of the importance of the judiciary at all times but more especially the present I am very fully impressed & I shall endeavor in the new office to which I am calld not to disappoint my friends.[7]

Before I receivd your letter Judge Bay[8] had left us with the intention of visiting the Mississipi territory. It was not in my power to be otherwise useful to him than by giving him letters to the Governor & secretary of that country who will I hope facilitate his enquiries concerning his property.

Today the new political year commences — The new order of things begins. M[r] Adams I believe left the city at 4 o Clock in the morning & M[r] Jefferson will be inaugurated at 12. There are some appearances which surprize me. I wish however more than I hope that the public prosperity & happiness may sustain no diminution under democratic guidance. The democrats are divided into speculative theorists & absolute terrorists. With the latter I am not disposd to class M[r] Jefferson. If he arranges himself with them it is not difficult to foresee that much calamity is in store for our country — if he does not they will soon become his enemies & calumniators.[9]

[6] This error has been continued in Ben W. Palmer, *Marshall and Taney, Statesmen of the Law* (Minneapolis, 1939), p. 55, and James Truslow Adams, *The Living Jefferson* (New York, 1946), p. 300.

[7] Could Beveridge have been indirectly referring to this sentence in the following passage? "His whole being was fixed immovably upon the maintenance of order and constitutional authority. Except for his letter to Pinckney, Marshall was silent amidst the clamor. All that now went forward passed before his regretful vision, and much of it he was making ready to meet and overcome with the affirmative opinions of constructive judicial statesmanship." *Op. cit.*, III, 15.

[8] Probably Elihu Hall Bay, associate justice of the Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas of South Carolina. See John Belton O'Neall, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1859), I, 53–65.

[9] As given by Beveridge: " 'There are some appearances which surprize me,' wrote Marshall on the morning of Jefferson's inauguration to his intimate friend, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

" 'I wish, however, more than I hope that the public prosperity & happiness will sustain no diminution under Democratic guidance. The Democrats are divided into speculative theorists & absolute terrorists. With the latter I am disposed to class Mr. Jefferson. If he ranges himself with them it is not difficult to foresee that much difficulty is in store for our country—if he does not, they will soon become his enemies and calumniators.' " *Op. cit.*, III, 11.

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4 O Clock

I have administerd the oath to the President. You will before this reaches you see his inauguration speech. It is in the general well judg[d] & conciliatory. It is in direct terms giving the lie to the violent party declamation which has elected him, but it is strongly characteristic of the general cast of his political theory.[10]

With great & sincere esteem

I am dear Sir your obed[t]

J MARSHALL

[10] As quoted by Beveridge: "'I have administered the oath to the Presdt.,' he writes Pinckney immediately after Jefferson had been inducted into office. 'His inauguration speech . . . is in general well judged and conciliatory. It is in direct terms giving the lie to the violent party declamation which has elected him, but it is strongly characteristic of the general cast of this political theory.'" *Ibid.*, III, 18.

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Reviews of Books

General History

HISTORY OF THE ISLAMIC PEOPLES. By *Carl Brockelmann,* with a Review of Events, 1939–1947, by *Moshe Perlmann.* Translated by *Joel Carmichael* and *Moshe Perlmann.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1947. Pp. xx, 582. $6.00.)

Dr. Brockelmann in his brief and restrained preface modestly acknowledges the difficulties of his timely task, "to offer to those interested in questions of world politics a bird's-eye view of the fortunes of the believers in Islam." He divides the subject chronologically into five parts: the Arabs and the Arab Empire; the Islamic Empire and its dissolution; the Ottoman Turks as the leading power in Islam; Islam in the nineteenth century; and the Islamic states after World War I. Since the author's survey ended in the spring of 1939, pertinent events until 1946 have been added by one of the translators. Arabs occupy about one third of the pages and Turks about one half, while Persians, Mongols, Kabyles, Sudanese, and Afghans make up the remainder. Completeness would have introduced the not unimportant Moslems of India, Indonesia, China, and Russia. In fact, the "believers in Islam" omitted from the book outnumber those included; during considerable periods some of them have maintained independent states and even powerful empires; Pakistan and Java are now regions of great and critical activity.

The book includes eight sketch maps, a chronological table to 1939, a selected bibliography, and two nonanalytical indexes. The translation is occasionally infelicitous but on the whole excellent in effect. Transliterations frequently differ from current usage: the Kaaba is given as the Ka'bah, Omar Khayyam as 'Umar ibn-al-Khaiyyam, and Abdul Mejid as Abd-al-Majid; usages are however consistent.

The main substance of the work is narrative political history told with attention to action, color, and occasional humor. Since economic studies of the Islamic world have been on the whole woefully lacking, the author can hardly be blamed for confining such considerations to matters of taxation and legislation. He has included throughout sketches "of culture and intellectual life." He introduces philosophers, legists, geographers, scientists, and, with perhaps undue emphasis, poets and romancers. Clear descriptions are presented of many buildings, perhaps not always with the best selection of subjects and proportion of words.

In general the presentation of facts, as for example those concerning the life of the prophet Mohammed, follows accepted patterns. A reader can with comparative ease separate out the histories of Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Islamic Spain, and Turkey. Not so readily can he follow the fortunes of Islamic puritans and heretics, Sunnites, Shiites, Alids, and Sufis.

The book is especially valuable for its grasp and range in all areas of central and western Islam. But it cannot be relied upon for complete accuracy of detail.

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Use of some American monographs would have been helpful. A few examples of minor errors may be mentioned: fratricide in the Ottoman ruling house began not with Mohammed II in 1451, but with Bayezid I in 1389 (p. 277); Suleiman the Magnificent annexed Hungary not in 1543 but in 1541 (p. 293); Suleiman's Grand Vizier Ibrahim was not a Greek but an Albanian (p. 307); the silver star whose repair was a cause of the Crimean War was not suspended in the air but let into the pavement at the traditional location of the birth of Jesus in the cave at Bethlehem (p. 364); Halide Edib is a great novelist, narrator, teacher, and stateswoman, but hardly a "poetess" (pp. 386 ff.); the Sakaria is a river and not a region (p. 441).

Some subjects might well have been introduced or treated more amply, such as the earlier forms of the mosque at Medina and elsewhere, the circular outlines of old Bagdad, and the influence of the Crusaders in the Levant. Tewfik Fikret Bey does not appear among recent Turkish poets. A German may perhaps be excused for touching only lightly on the defeated Berlin-Bagdad aspirations of Kaiser Wilhelm II (p. 381).

The influence of England in the Islamic world might have had greater and more systematic attention: she bolstered up the decaying Ottoman Empire, especially from 1839 to 1891; she maintained strong and persistent opposition to Russia from 1799 to 1907; increasingly after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 Britain claimed control as her "life-line" over communications across central Islam, with accompanying extensive interference in the internal affairs of most areas; and the acceptance by the Washington government of the inheritance and continuation of these policies is a major fact in current international relations. The great importance of petroleum deposits to the immediate past, the present, and the future of all Islamic lands appears very nearly to have escaped the author's attention; his continuator takes brief notice of it (p. 516).

Subject to the cautions suggested, Dr. Brockelmann's book is of first-class value and importance to scholars and to the public.

University of Illinois ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

LES DOCTRINES POLITIQUES MODERNES. Introduction par *B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch*. (New York: Brentano's. 1947. Pp. 322. $2.50.)

THIS work is composed of a series of essays most of which either constitute excellent summaries of their subject matter or throw new light on some particular movement or thinker. In the first group the discussion of "Doctrines géographiques en politique" by J. Gottmann is exceptionally able and makes clear the basic distinctions between a sound political geography and the German brand of geopolitics, revealing in the process how the two developed and separated. In the second category, "Kant et la révolution française" by P. Schrecker is of special

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significance as indicating the generally republican and liberal character of Kant's political thought, and as showing its relationship on the one hand to a major actual event, and on the other hand to his basic ethical system. Valuable too is "Le système politique de Charles Maurras" by Auguste Viatte, especially since brief summaries and analyses of the thought of Maurras, its historical foundations and its influence on French political developments which culminated in the Pétain regime, are not numerous.

Nevertheless, save as a collection of essays on various topics in the realm of political theory and doctrine, mostly of a high level of individual excellence, the work is disappointing. First, to entitle it "Modern Political Doctrines" is surely a misnomer. It is not systematic, it does not cover the main issues in the realm of political ideas currently prevalent in any clear manner, it does not deal with the chief philosophers and controversialists of modern politics. Some of the essays, indeed, like the ones on Mirabeau and Rivarol, are primarily works of historical research. Interesting and valuable, they are in no sense analyses of contemporary political thought, save on the basis that all history is contemporary history. Should the term "modern" be used to cover roughly the last century and a half or longer, one would anticipate a more organized interpretation of the evolution of ideas and of the impact thereon of changing social conditions than is here presented.

The editor of this work, Mirkine-Guetzévitch, in his introduction does indeed argue that this is a collaborative work in which certain currently important problems are tackled by bringing to bear the viewpoints and the insights of persons in different branches of the social sciences and of philosophy. Yet the work lacks the necessary concentration and emphasis to achieve its professed purpose. Each writer has contributed an individual essay on a matter of moment to him. Such essays do not invariably constitute the best means to reveal currently significant issues, to present a clear thesis, or to bring out the special contribution of the author's particular discipline.

The work is divided into three parts. The first of these, we are told, is devoted to the *"objet,"* meaning presumably the actual problems of the state and theories about them. Included are discussions of political geography; the nature of power in a particular primitive society, that of the Nambikuara, a tribe in the Brazilian interior; a discussion of the development of the rights of man from natural law to international law; an analysis of the role of mythology and positivism in the concept of the state; and a discussion of the right of rebellion or insurrection, which is dominantly a discussion of ideas about the right of revolution, from the French Revolution on. Manifestly, such a series of essays is bound to contain many interesting insights and perceptions. The last three mentioned contain also much instructive historical material, while the second essay, on the Nambikuara, does lead to some rather significant generalizations as to the genesis of power and the existence of temperaments creating leaders and followers in all human societies. Nevertheless, the whole section leaves one with the feeling of a very random

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discussion of the problems, and throws only incidental light on the nature of the modern state and of the issues of ideas, beliefs, and forces prevalent therein.

The second part deals with individual thinkers and political systems and is intended to illumine the issue between democratic and antidemocratic thought. Yet essays on Mirabeau, de Bonald, Kant, Rivarol, and Maurras hardly give an adequate or thorough presentation of the philosophic problems involved. Certainly for this purpose it would be possible to pick more central and systematic thinkers on many of the issues, even though essays on the persons actually treated may have much incidental value because either their ideas are less well known or the particular aspect of them here treated has not been generally discussed.

The third part is supposed to analyze the political doctrines of major current popular movements. It consists of two essays, one on the political doctrines of national socialism which, while adding little new to our understanding thereof, constitutes a nice summary; and the other a discussion by the editor of the republican tradition in the political thought of the Resistance movement. This essay may be useful as a summary of Resistance ideas, and for its revelation of at least some of their sources. But to argue that two essays together are adequate to the general purpose, or reveal and illumine the range of popular political movements of the present day is signally misleading.

This work then does not fulfill its promise, does not bring to focus different disciplines and the insights of their practitioners on a common problem. It raises, indeed, the whole question whether such collaborative undertakings can be effective. Certainly the type of work where authors collaborate under a particular editorship to make and execute a systematic plan is rarely satisfactory. Such books normally lack both freshness and conviction. Yet where, as here, these merits are retained, and the individual authors make genuine contributions along the lines of their own interests, there is almost necessarily an absence of unity and of system. Almost all these essays genuinely merit publication, and have value for various specialists. Indeed, as a collection of essays, the book would interest most political theorists and, in large part, the historians of political thought. In the reviewer's judgment, however, the essays belong properly in periodicals, or, if put within the covers of a book, should have appeared under a less definitive title and without claim to systematic purpose.

University of Washington THOMAS I. COOK

OPERATION VICTORY. By Major-General *Sir Francis de Guingand,* Chief of Staff, Eighth Army, 1942–43, Chief of Staff, 21st Army Group, 1944–45. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. Pp. 488. $3.75.)

Operation Victory is a notable contribution to the serious literature of the war. The author, who has had a rather wide experience in the higher realms of the military art and who served as chief of staff to Field Marshal Montgomery, has

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produced a first-rate account of the Mediterranean and western European campaigns in which he served. This book will have an honorable place on the shelves of the military historian. Others will find in it valuable comments on the relationship between high politics and military strategy. The story of the Greek campaign ought to be read in connection with present American foreign policy.

Critics of Montgomery will find a surprisingly calm appraisal of the British commander. Although de Guingand considered that the field marshal had the ideal soldier's temperament, he was also aware of certain weaknesses. As far as military ability is concerned, he believes that Montgomery was better at the set piece than in the fluid exploitation battle.

The greatest interest will be centered on what the author has to say about the controversies swirling around Montgomery. He emphasizes that the British failure to seize Caen was due to several causes: limitations on British manpower; concentrations of German armor; the defensive nature of the terrain; bad weather and a delayed build-up of supplies; the arrival of German reinforcements; and the danger of a German counterstroke at the supply beaches.

The Falaise Gap was not closed, according to the author, because a larger envelopment towards the Seine and Paris was underway, there were difficulties in co-ordinating air support, and break-through conditions were not present in front of Montgomery. Limitations were placed on Bradley so as to avoid the danger of mixing the Allied armies. These arguments will hardly be convincing to General Bradley's staff and to students of the problem.

De Guingand disagreed with Montgomery's contention that the proper strategy after the Seine crossings was to make a coastal thrust across the Rhine and into Germany north of the Ruhr. Such a move, he felt, would have been a gamble which probably would have failed. This would have been followed, he believed, by a crisis between the Anglo-American allies. Eisenhower's strategy, which was adopted, and with which the author agreed, was to close up the Allied armies upon the Rhine before attempting the thrust into Germany.

University of Minnesota RODNEY C. LOEHR

Ancient and Medieval History

PHILO: FOUNDATIONS OF RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY IN JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM. Two volumes. By *Harry Austryn Wolfson,* Nathan Littauer Professor of Hebrew Literature and Philosophy in Harvard University. [Structure and Growth of Philosophic Systems from Plato to Spinoza, II.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1947. Pp. xvi, 462; xiv, 531. $10.00.)

THESE two brilliant and surpassingly erudite volumes on Philo (*ca.* 20 B.C.–40 A.D.) form Book II of a series of studies under the general title, "Structure and

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growth of philosophic systems from Plato to Spinoza." The main thesis of the work is that the history of philosophy for seventeen centuries, from Philo to Spinoza, was a restatement and development by Christian, Muslim, and Jewish philosophers, writing in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew, of the fundamental principles of religious philosophy laid down by Philo. In fourteen chapters of monographic dimensions Professor Wolfson deals with the major problems of philosophy, and provides an introduction to the treatment of these problems in subsequent philosophic literature.

The student of history will take special interest in the sections in which the author gives a new evaluation of the cultural and political position of Alexandrian Judaism in its Hellenistic environment. Similarly, he will find here for the first time a detailed examination of the Jewish political theory which was worked out by Philo in criticism of the political theories of the Greeks, and which subsequently became the basis of what passes as the political theory of Christianity and the church fathers. Historians will profit also from the penetrating discussion of the Greek concept of natural law, of the introduction by Philo of the idea of divine natural law, of the definition of democracy, of the relation between church and state, of the future ideal commonwealth, and of the relation between Polybius and Philo on the theory of the cycles of the rise and fall of states and nations.

In his critique of Philo, Professor Wolfson uses what he describes as the hypothetico-deductive method of text study, the purpose of which, he says, "is to reconstruct the latent processes of reasoning that always lie behind uttered words, and to try to determine the true meaning of what is said by tracing back the story of how it came to be said, and why it is said in the manner in which it is said" (I, 107). This analysis, which is worked out with great logic and accuracy, is notable for rare keenness of insight and for a style of unusual clarity and felicity.

We have here not only by far the best and most detailed treatise on Philo that has ever appeared but also an invaluable presentation of the subject matter of the philosophy of religion. It contains exactly what the author says it does, the foundations of religious philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; and the challenging thesis it presents is one which will have to be taken into account by all medievalists. Professor Wolfson has made a unique contribution, which no theologian or student of intellectual history can afford to neglect.

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MILTON V. ANASTOS

THE ATTALIDS OF PERGAMON. By *Esther V. Hansen,* Professor of Classical Languages in Elmira College. [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, Volume XXIX.] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1947. Pp. xxxvi, 464. $4.50.)

A NEW comprehensive work on the kingdom of Pergamum has been in order for some time, in view of the steadily growing accumulation of new archaeological

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evidence and the numerous special studies which various aspects of that evidence have provoked. *The Attalids of Pergamon* is evidently intended to make good the deficiency. The author says no more than that she is attempting to supply "within the compass of a single volume, a picture of this Hellenistic city" (p. vii); but the time and effort which she has unquestionably devoted to the book, and the minute detail which prevails in much of it, indicate that she intends the picture to be a comprehensive one.

As a comprehensive study, however, the book is deficient in several respects. There is a fault in Dr. Hansen's approach which is suggested in the statement of purpose quoted above: the Attalid dynasty from the first ruled over more than a city, and the kingdom of the later Attalids, of which Pergamum the city was no more than the capital, comprised a good portion of Asia Minor. The book does, of course, deal with the state of the Attalids rather than the city of Pergamum alone; but one feels throughout that the author's chief interest is the city, and more specifically the physical city as revealed by the excavations.

The survey of Pergamene political and military history (chapters I–V) is on the whole complete in point of detail. Its usefulness is diminished by an extreme condensation which frequently makes the sequence of events hard to grasp. This is particularly true in the treatment of the relations of Pergamum with the other Hellenistic states. If more space had been devoted to explaining how the affairs of Macedon, of the Seleucid Empire, of Rome, gradually developed toward contact and conflict with the Attalid kingdom, their later relations with that kingdom would emerge much more clearly. The most notable weakness of this section, however, is the complete absence of any consideration of Attalid policy. Dr. Hansen in no case tells us at what objectives the various sovereigns were aiming, or how the events she narrates affected the success or failure of those aims. If we are not informed on these points, a historical narrative can be no more than a mere chronicle of events, devoid of significance.

The discussion of Attalid political and economic institutions in chapter VI is disappointingly cursory. An excellent model for the treatment of these topics in the Hellenistic states is provided by Elias Bickermann's *Institutions des Séleucides*: any treatment which aims at completeness should approximate at least the scope and organization of this admirable study, if it may not possess its brilliance. Dr. Hansen's chapter covers little more than fifty pages; and the partial value which might attach to a brief survey of the subject is lost by the sacrifice of organization to excessive, and not always relevant, detail. Social organization—a subject of great interest in the Hellenistic monarchies, which united so many widely different social structures—is hardly touched upon. Of the five classes of Pergamene society mentioned (p. 173), only one, the military, receives any adequate consideration.

When we turn to the chapters on the art and architecture of the city of Pergamum, the increased interest of the author is plainly apparent. For the first time the discussion shows fluency and clarity, and a certain measure of original con-

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tribution. Chapters VII and VIII contain an interesting and informative summary of the artistic and architectural discoveries of the excavators of Pergamum. Chapters IX and X, on Attalid patronage of learning and the cults of Pergamum respectively, do not present much that is new, but the material gains in significance by its unification.

It is unfortunate, under the circumstances, that Dr. Hansen did not abandon the idea of a comprehensive study and confine herself to the subjects of these final chapters. The political history and the institutions of the Attalid monarchy deserve to be presented as more than a background to the art and architecture of the city of Pergamum.

University of Texas EDWARD L. CANNAN

SAINTS' LIVES AND CHRONICLES IN EARLY ENGLAND: TOGETHER WITH THE FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF *THE OLDEST LIFE OF POPE ST. GREGORY THE GREAT* BY A MONK OF WHITBY AND *THE LIFE OF ST. GUTHLAC OF CROWLAND* BY FELIX. By *Charles W. Jones,* Associate Professor of English, Cornell University. [Romanesque Literature, Volume I.] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1947. Pp. xiii, 232. $3.00.)

PROFESSOR C. W. Jones, whose edition of Bede's *Opera de Temporibus* is well known and valued by all students of seventh and eighth century life and literature, has now turned his attention to the saints' lives and chronicles written in England before the year 750, concentrating on certain works of Bede, especially the *Lives of the Abbots,* the *Life of St. Cuthbert* and the *Ecclesiastical History,* on the *Life of St. Wilfrid* by Eddius Stephanus and the *Life of St. Guthlac* by Felix, and the anonymous lives of *St. Cuthbert, St. Gregory,* and *St. Ceolfrith.*

He complains, with truth, that these books have often been neglected or studied primarily as sources of factual knowledge, not as literary works. His object is a literary criticism of these Latin texts, which he calls "Romanesque" literature. Is "Romanesque" a suitable title for these works, half of which have little connection with any Roman or even sub-Roman culture, except the language they were written in? Their atmosphere is rather that of the Egyptian desert or the Irish monastery. In fact it is curious how little Professor Jones has taken into consideration the Irish influence on the writings of the time. Has he forgotten that Aldfrith, half Irishman, was on the throne of Northumbria for twenty years of Bede's lifetime? He must have done so or he would not have thought that Bede was joking when he referred to the Irish as a "harmless nation which had always been most friendly to the English" (p. 67).

Professor Jones emphasizes the point that these works all had some connection with chronological study, and no one has a better right to do so, for probably no living scholar has a wider knowledge of seventh century chronography and chron-

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ographers. But it is when he discusses the literary make-up of these works that one begins to question his attitude. The basic trouble is that Jones cannot accept the fact that these early medieval writers, including Bede with his scientific outlook, actually believed in miracles. Norman Baines once said, "If your mind becomes queasy at the very idea of a miracle, the early middle ages is not the proper field for your study." Jones attempts to show that these hagiographical works are mere vague conventional studies in the miraculous, ethically but not factually true, and that the writers did not expect that they would be taken as fact—hence the conventional pattern. Thus, on page 56, he seeks to describe Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* in terms of his theory, in a paragraph of which almost every sentence is capable of refutation: there *are* dates (of a sort) in the *Life* (chaps. 4, 7, 10, 15, 24–end); there *are* measures of length and breadth (chaps. 17, 21); there *are* technical titles of nobility other than the king (chaps. 15, 25); food *is* eaten (dolphin's or porpoise's flesh) which certainly was not eaten in "Old Testament Palestine." In fact, I hope that I may some day have the pleasure of taking Professor Jones to Farne Island and with Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* in my hand identifying with ease every place mentioned in chapters 17–21! It is, of course, true that the pattern of these Lives was laid down from the preface to the miracles at the tomb. It is also equally true that the Life depends on the growth of the local saga about the saint which began even before his death. But to make the whole Life a mere literary convention ethically though not factually true is too much to expect of the age. And the naming of witnesses, usually living men and easily accessible—necessary when the stories told were miraculous, obviously unnecessary for mere matters of everyday fact—was surely more than conventional.

Professor Jones has added a translation of the Whitby *Life of St. Gregory* and Felix's *Life of St. Guthlac*. A comparison between Jones's translation of the latter and Birch's text reveals in the preface alone such a collection of mistranslations that one wonders how they could appear with the imprimatur of Cornell University. On page 125 he confuses *fastibus* with *fastis;* a few lines below he translates *Caecitas in Scripturis ignorantia est* as "blindness is ignorance of the Scriptures"; again on the same page he takes *portum* as *portam,* making nonsense of the sentence; *stilum flectendo* becomes "bridling our style" where it obviously means "taking up the pen"; but worst of all, because he makes his argument depend on it, is the sentence just below—*quantacumque de vitae ipsius ortonomia stilo perstrincxero*—which, with a magnificent disregard of grammar, he translates "whatever I shall have constructed about his life according to proper literary convention," or alternatively (p. 87), "whatever of his life I may have set down in orthonomic style." Similar, if less startling, inaccuracies are scattered throughout the piece.

But in spite of these serious blemishes, which one hopes will be very carefully eliminated or corrected in a later edition, what Professor Jones has to say about seventh century chronography has to be listened to with the greatest respect; and

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there is much in the book that is helpful and provocative though perhaps few medieval scholars will be willing to accept all his conclusions without demur.

Durham, England BERTRAM COLGRAVE

Modern European History

THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF OLIVER CROMWELL. With an Introduction, Notes, and an account of his life by *Wilbur Cortez Abbott,* Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, Emeritus, Harvard University. With the assistance of Madeleine R. Gleason and Catherine D. Crane. Volume IV, THE PROTECTORATE, 1655–1658. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1947. Pp. xvi, 1085. $7.50.)

THE writer of this review was a contemporary of Professor Abbott at Balliol College, Oxford, just half a century ago. He cannot but begin by saluting the memory of an old comrade and friend. If only Professor Abbott could himself have seen the completion of his long labors! It is ten years since the first volume appeared, and he was then well advanced in his sixties. *Laboravit sustinens;* he worked to the last and finished his course. The four volumes are completed; and the great monument to Oliver Cromwell stands four-square.

The last volume covers the last three years, from October, 1655, to September 3, 1658, the day of Cromwell's death. The author, in his preface, justly claims that the full reports of conversations with the Protector, made by the diplomatic agents of foreign powers, which are here printed for the first time, are an addition to historical knowledge. Indeed they are a double addition: not only do they afford new insight into Cromwell's character but they also furnish new evidence for a judgment on the attitude of England to his government in its final years. There is another thing which may also be said of the author's long and exhaustive researches. He collected, while there was yet time, material of which the original copies may now have disappeared in the chaos and confusion of war. In the "conflict with oblivion" he rendered a singular service to the memory of Cromwell.

The general scheme of this final volume is the same as that of the preceding volumes, and the general judgment passed by the reviewer in the previous notices which he had the honor of writing (see *American Historical Review,* XLIII, 372; XLV, 859; LI, 109) must be repeated in this final notice. As in the third volume, so in the fourth, there are appendixes containing the treaties made with, and the Latin letters sent to, foreign powers during the period; but the fourth volume also contains lists of the dignities conferred by Cromwell and of Cromwellian officials, and it further includes a full bibliography of works on Cromwell published from 1929 to 1944, which serves as an addition and supplement to the *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell* published in 1929.

A final chapter, entitled "The Fame of Cromwell," reviews the verdicts which

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have been passed on Cromwell during the ages by different writers. (The chapter is a revised form of an essay which originally appeared as long ago as 1913.) It shows the wide range of Professor Abbott's reading; but it does not give—what many of us greatly longed to see—the author's own final judgment of the man in whose company he had spent so many years of his life. We are left with two brief sentences in the penultimate paragraph of his penultimate chapter. "He led Puritanism to military victory and glory, overthrew Anglicanism—if only for a time—broke through the divinity that hedged in a king, and set up a brief personal dictatorship. That was the sum of his worldly achievement—that and his insistence on 'toleration.' " But was that really the sum?

It would almost seem as if Professor Abbott, by dint of living so long with Cromwell, had become disillusioned. He saw the "Dictator" in him (perhaps contemporary events led to that result), but he failed to see the "Seeker," who was trying to find his way to the purposes of God. Again and again, in this last volume, he turns a skeptical eye on its subject. This is notable in the preface before, and the comment after, his reprint of Cromwell's great speech of September 17, 1656—perhaps the greatest and most revealing of all the speeches he delivered. In his preface to it he speaks of it as "verbose, dogmatic, repetitious, even at times dull." In the comment which succeeds it he remarks that it "left something to be desired, if one may trust such contemporary accounts of it as we have." But again one asks, is that really all there is to be said?

It is somewhat sad that Professor Abbott should have ended on this note of doubt and melancholy. There are specks enough on Cromwell; and he himself, when his portrait was being painted, was frank enough to desire that they should not be omitted. And no doubt, in his last years, he was a weary man, wearily toiling among many difficulties. He could not keep the "bright speed" he had in his prime. But the reviewer will always be moved, as long as he lives, by Cromwell's dying ejaculations and the passion of his last prayer. Professor Abbott notes that "it is not easy to assess the value of reported death-bed scenes or utterances." True. But one thing is sure—that the "Seeker" was seeking still at the last, and trying to find his way to God.

Cambridge, England ERNEST BARKER

LORD COCHRANE, SEAMAN—RADICAL—LIBERATOR: A LIFE OF THOMAS, LORD COCHRANE, 10TH EARL OF DUNDONALD. By *Christopher Lloyd*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1947. Pp. viii, 222. $4.00.)

THIS well-written short life does full justice to one of the great gentlemen rebels of the romantic age, an officer, pamphleteer, soldier of fortune, speculator, and radical politician, equipped with very little theoretical baggage but with a great deal of energy and native ability. The best portions of the book deal with

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Lord Cochrane's activities at sea. Here Mr. Lloyd, a tutor at the Royal Naval College, is very much at home, and much of his material will be familiar to admirers of his life of Marryat or of his equally able short history of the Royal Navy in the nineteenth century. When Lord Cochrane was elected to Parliament in 1806 as a young and famous naval captain, he was, with Sir Francis Burdett, the only link between the House of Commons and the parliamentary reform movement outside its walls. "At first he tried to combine the professions of naval officer and Radical politician, but they soon proved incompatible, and when his naval career ran upon the rocks he devoted himself with the greatest energy, but with an almost complete lack of success, to a frontal assault on that jungle of corruption which his friend Cobbett used to call 'the THING.'" In this part of the story, Mr. Lloyd handles his materials very well, though he is quite properly convinced that it is next to impossible to determine the facts in the stock exchange scandal which was used by Cochrane's opponents to drive him from the navy and the House. In spite of his public disgrace, Cochrane was again returned to Parliament during the reformers' bleakest years, until he went abroad in 1818 as one of a numerous band of English adventurers to fight for Latin-American independence.

Though Mr. Lloyd does not use any Spanish or Portuguese materials in his story of the admiral's adventures in Chile and Brazil, it is clear that Cochrane acquitted himself with ability and dignity, until he attempted to bring some sort of order to the semipiratical navy of Greece. When he returned from Greece after the battle of Navarino, a sea fight in which the Greek navy did not take part and about which its admiral was very poorly informed, he was fifty-three. From this time until his death in 1860 at the age of eighty-five, he fought with his accustomed vigor to rehabilitate his honor and his fortunes in England—by petitions, lawsuits, memorials, and a flood of propaganda pamphlets. As the political scene changed he again took his place as an honored officer and gentleman, to experiment with early steam engines and to bombard the admiralty during the Crimean War with a series of typical projects for the defeat of Russia.

Though the story of the soldier of fortune in the nineteenth century remains to be written, this short volume is an excellent footnote to the separate histories of the Royal Navy, parliamentary reform, and Latin-American and Greek independence. It is an excellent case study of one of the more turbulent characters of the romantic age, and a useful reminder that the English Radicals, who now appear so tame and unexciting, were real fighters.

Duke University THEODORE ROPP

INQUIRY INTO THE HISTORY OF PRICES IN HOLLAND. Volume I, WHOLESALE PRICES AT THE EXCHANGE OF AMSTERDAM, 1585–1914, RATES OF EXCHANGE AT AMSTERDAM, 1609–1914. By *N. W.*

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Posthumus, Professor in Economic History at the University of Amsterdam. [Publications of the International Scientific Committee on Price History.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1946. Pp. cxviii, 32, 660. 50 guilders.)

THIS massive book—it weighs five pounds—brings the study of price history, planned two decades ago by Sir William Beveridge and the late Professor Edwin F. Gay, nearer to completion. Only the second Dutch volume and three of the four English installments remain to be published. It was feared, when the Germans seized Holland, that Professor Posthumus' assignment might not be fulfilled, but he managed to get his first volume out in his native tongue in 1943 and has followed it up with this version in English. The translation is literal rather than literary, and the proofreader was not well versed in the contents of an English dictionary. Nevertheless the volume can be used without difficulty by those not acquainted with the Dutch language.

Amsterdam's function as a world market between 1600 and 1800 is well revealed by the list of more than two hundred commodities for which Posthumus has been able to compile price series. His source of information has been the weekly and then semiweekly lists of "prices current" compiled by "sworn brokers" to record the wholesale prices at which goods had been sold on the Amsterdam Produce Exchange during the preceding days. The time span is from 1585 to 1914, but, since it was no one's business to keep a file of the lists, the figures are scanty until 1624 and there are long gaps at crucial periods after that date. Of the commodities about half are foodstuffs—domestic, European, Oriental, and American; a quarter are textile raw materials or finished piece goods from various parts of Europe and farther afield; the rest are dyes, metals, naval stores, chemicals, Marseilles soap, and opium. The prices are given monthly, but there is an average annual figure as well. The raw figures are then translated into "relative prices" for periods of five and of ten years, with 1721–1745 as the base period. They are combined and transformed into index numbers, both weighted and unweighted, and for purposes of international comparison they are calculated in terms of silver and of gold. Finally, there is a list of foreign exchange rates from 1609 to 1914. In short, the book is about as thorough and competent in its method as is humanly possible.

In an introduction covering about a hundred pages Professor Posthumus describes his sources and the way he has handled them, but he gives us scarcely any of his own conclusions or observations. In effect he echoes Sir William Beveridge's peroration, "The figures must tell their story, for I have no story to tell." Most of us are bound to regret this reticence. It is true that the graphs based on the index numbers give us a welcome curve of price trends for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; also that the cycle historians will have many a field day with the monthly returns. But for all except the specialist the task of reading, not to mention digesting, the six hundred pages of tables will be a strain on the eyes, mind, and lap. So

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long as one can keep alert, some interesting questions will pop up calling for answers that must be sought elsewhere; such as, for instance, the reason for the decline in prices from the 1650's to the 1680's—was this what was worrying Colbert and making him believe that the world had become a "mature" static economy?—or the causes and consequences of declining prices during the first half of the eighteenth century, the gradual rise thereafter, and the rapid advance from about 1780. How far did the rising figures after 1750 affect or stimulate American expansion in the production of cotton, potash, and wheat for export? Why did bullets rise little in price when a war broke out and lose some of that advance even while the war continued? Why the relative stability of prices in the metal market during much of the eighteenth century? How and why did monopoly maintain a steady price for 169 of Professor Posthumus' 223 articles at one time or another?

Unfortunately the tables do not help us to answer some questions. There is no record of the cost of building materials, and so we learn nothing about the French and English complaint that the Dutch got ship lumber more cheaply than did their rivals. There is nothing on shipping freights and little promise that there will be anything in the next volume; hence we cannot check on the other oft-repeated statement that Dutch freight rates were much lower than those of other lands. Yet it is sheer ingratitude to grumble at what is not there or at being challenged to work hard on what is. The finished product of the price historian is the raw material for the rest of us; for its manufacture other ingredients are needed, plenty of hard work, and a considerable amount of imagination. The book therefore may serve as the starting point for many a seminar.

University of Minnesota HERBERT HEATON

THE FIRST TRIPLE ALLIANCE: THE LETTERS OF CHRISTOPHER LINDENOV, DANISH ENVOY TO LONDON, 1668–1672. Translated and Edited, with an historical introduction by *Waldemar Westergaard,* Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1947. Pp. lxxviii, 528. $6.00.)

THE title of Professor Westergaard's edition of Christopher Lindenov's letters is not wholly adequate. The letters do not contribute much to our knowledge of the astute diplomacy by which Louis XIV and Marquess de Lionne dissolved the Anglo-Dutch-Swedish Triple Alliance of 1668 and won England and Sweden as allies of France against the Dutch republic. Lindenov belonged as "resident" to the diplomatic small fry, and the more important negotiations—also those between England and Denmark which resulted in the treaty of July, 1670—were carried on over his head. What Lindenov writes about international affairs is mostly secondhand stuff. The book, nevertheless, must be hailed as a valuable contribution to the study of the seventeenth century, mainly because it gives an

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interesting picture of the political scene in London during the years in question. The young Danish diplomatist obviously possessed good sources of information and shows himself a shrewd observer of English politics and parliamentary life. Read for instance his commentary on the quarrel between the Lords and Commons about the bill of jurisdiction in November, 1669:

It is to be wondered that, with so many high personages with positions at court, so many lords and sons of lords, with all the judges of England, a part of the aldermen of London, and so many jurists depending upon them (of which persons the lower house is in the main made up), a strong enough party could not be formed in the lower house so that their supporters could have prevailed against those who brought about the rejection of the said draft [pp. 178–79].

When Westergaard describes Lindenov as a poor Danish stylist, it is not quite just. Danish of the seventeenth century was more archaic than contemporary French and English, and Lindenov wrote the Danish of his day rather better than most of his countrymen. In some places the erudite editor has misunderstood the Danish original. The Anglo-Swedish treaty of 1665 was not signed *"at* Coventry" (p. 39), but *by* (*"ved"*) Henry Coventry. Lindenov does not write *"quelsott,"* a word unknown in Danish (p. 100), but *"guelsott," i.e.* jaundice. *"Mumme"* (p. 339) is not cardamom, as Westergaard guesses, but a sort of strong German beer. Other instances of insufficient philological insight might be given.

The introduction and the notes reveal extensive research, but occasionally the American historian loses his way in the tangled forest of seventeenth century European history. The French diplomatist Honoré de Courtin (1627–1703) is confused (p. 6) with Antoine de Courtin (1622–85; *cf. Svenskt biografiskt leksikon,* IX [1931], 14–21). "M. Boreel" (p. 9) is Johan Boreel, ambassador in England, 1667–1672, not Jacob Boreel. The Spanish ambassador in London, 1668, was the count of Molina, not the spurious "count of Dona" (p. 41). "M. Gabel" (p. 102) is not the stadholder Christopher Gabel, but his son Frederick Gabel, envoy in Paris; "M. von Rhede" (p. 167) neither Baron Reede van Amerongen nor Frederik van Reede, but Hendrik, Baron van Reede tot Renswoude, Dutch ambassador in Madrid, 1656–1669. "Grotius" (p. 166) is no doubt Pieter de Groot, second son of the famous Hugo Grotius, Dutch ambassador in Stockholm, 1668–1670; "M. Opdam" (p. 256) Jacob van Wassenaer, Baron van Obdam (1635–1714), son of the famous admiral of the same name; "captain Adeler" (p. 269) not the admiral Cort Adeler but his son Sivert Adeler; "Holes" (p. 312, read: Holck) not Lord Denzil Holles, but the governor of Cronborg Castle, Eiler Holck; "the Duke of Lorraine" (p. 444) not Charles III but Charles IV. The unidentified religious author "Gelly" (p. 65) is possibly the Frisian reformer Gellius (Jelle) Snecanus. About General Paul Würtz (p. 363) the editor might have found information in *Dansk biografisk Leksikon* (1933–44, XXVI, 363–64). But who is the enigmatical "prince of Hamburg" (p. 4)? Enigmatical too is the passage about Lord Arlington's wife on page 26, but a note, informing the reader that Arlington and Lord Ossory (*cf.* p. 32) were married to the two Dutch sisters Beverweert, might

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have given some elucidation. A geographical lapse is the interrogative identification of the "castle of Siebourge," seized by the duke of Neuburg in February, 1670, with "Seebrugge" (p. 194). The Flemish coastal harbor Zeebrugge (well known from World War I) did not exist in the seventeenth century, and a warlike expedition of the minor duke palatine of Neuburg to the coast of West Flanders would have been sheer madness. "Siebourge" is Siegburg, east of the Rhine, near Bonn.

This criticism of a few details should not diminish the debt due to Professor Westergaard from students of the seventeenth century for his valuable work.

Copenhagen, Denmark C. O. Bøggild-Andersen

FREDERICK THE GREAT: THE RULER, THE WRITER, THE MAN. By *G. P. Gooch.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. ix, 376, iv. $5.00.)

Dr. Gooch's delightful and informing study differs in purpose and method from the ordinary biographies, of which there are plenty—the monumental Koser for the serious student, and Carlyle, Reddaway, Norwood Young, Gaxotte, and others for the general reader. His purpose "is to portray a unique and many-sided personality, at once fascinating and repulsive, from various angles, though no attempt has been made to cover the whole field." His method is to let Frederick tell as far as possible in his own words about his family, friends, and ideas by abundant quotation or condensation from the king's very voluminous writings. He thus gives the reader a vivid and direct approach to the psychology of the man who was more feared and respected than loved by his family and subjects, who held his own against France's most brilliant writer, and who dragged Prussia from weakness to first-rank strength among the great powers of Europe.

This method of letting Old Fritz argue his own case and have free rein for his views naturally results in a rather favorable impression of the king. In an interesting final chapter, "Through German Eyes," Dr. Gooch summarizes what Germans—especially German historians—have thought of Frederick, a matter "of peculiar significance in view of their craving for leadership, their political romanticism, their worship of efficiency, their intellectual glorification of war." Practically all these German writers, except Onno Klopp, Max Lehmann, and Werner Hegemann, are enthusiastic admirers and patriotic defenders of the genius whom Lord Rosebery called the Patron Saint of Germany. This redressing of the balance in Frederick's favor is perhaps just as well in view of the excessive blame heaped upon him since 1914 as the cynical father of Prussian militarism, aggressive and preventive war, and general perfidy.

After three political chapters on Prussia's rise to power through Frederick's wars and diplomacy, Dr. Gooch comes back to the extraordinary formative years of Frederick's youth—the harshness of the drill-sergeant father, the attempted flight with Katte, followed by the happy years of music, poetry, and political study at Rheinsberg. Then follows the portrait of "The Philosopher of Sans Souci" as

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drawn unfavorably by diplomats like Hanbury-Williams, Andrew Mitchell, and Hugh Elliott, and favorably by more intimate friends like De Catt, Thiébault, Zimmermann, and above all by Voltaire. Two chapters on the king and his most distinguished guest, "Honeymoon" and "Disenchantment," contain much that is fresh and new on the subject that has been dealt with by so many writers. Frederick's close but not unclouded relations with the only two members of his family whom he really cared for—his sister Wilhelmina and his brother Prince Henry—each rate a chapter. Finally, there are excellent critical analyses of Frederick's *Antimachiavel,* political testaments, and histories of Brandenburg and of his own times.

Dr. Gooch brings out very little about what Frederick thought and did in regard to law and currency reform, taxation, banking, mining, manufactures, transportation, and other measures of economic recovery in the second half of the reign to repair the war damages of the first half. The reader may wish that he had been as much intrigued by the economic and administrative material in the *Acta Borussica* as by the king's personal and political relations.

Harvard University SIDNEY B. FAY

RUSSIAN RADICALS LOOK TO AMERICA, 1825–1894. By *David Hecht.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 242. $4.00.)

THE author of this penetrating study introduces six Russian revolutionary figures who looked upon the United States as a model democratic society. Those were Herzen, Ogarev, Bakunin, Chernyshevski, Lavrov, and Chaikovski. Of the ten chapters only one dedicated to Ogarev is a pale and happily short account; the other nine are far more gratifying, skillfully tracing the political faith which these men professed with apostolic zeal, the hopes they cherished and often found dashed to the ground. The most fascinating chapter is the one on Nicholas Chaikovski. Here an account is given of his participation in the Progressive Community at Cedar Vale, Kansas, and his experience with the Shakers at the Son Yea colony some forty miles from Rochester, New York. It is an illuminating story. Students of both American and Russian history are urged to consult Dr. Hecht's work, which, though based on secondary Russian and American sources, nevertheless represents an original undertaking.

On some points I hesitatingly disagree with the author. For instance, it is somewhat doubtful whether "Herzen above all looked to the United States for consolation . . . when the going in Europe seemed too difficult" (p. 4). The more difficult the going became in the West, the more Herzen placed his faith in the inherent virtues of the Russian people. To say that Dostoevski was a socialist in his early days (p. 5) is incorrect: he was one of the most conservative members of the Petrashevsky circle, which had an intrinsic aversion to Western socialism. It would be historically unjust to say that the Russian government *never* learned

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the English lesson of combating revolution by timely reforms (pp. 8-9). One may recall the Great Reforms or Stolypin's legislative program to challenge this sweeping assumption. Dr. Hecht states that the early Russian socialists identified the "people" with the peasants and not with the proletariat (p. 11). There was hardly a proletariat in existence at that time in Russia. It is perfectly true that the Decembrist Nikita Muraviev was influenced considerably by American constitutionalism, but it would be erroneous to assume the same in regard to Pestel, as the author does (p.18).

These are a few of the minor flaws one finds, but they do not mar the otherwise helpful study of a long-neglected subject at last admirably accomplished by Dr. Hecht.

Stanford University ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

FERDINAND LASSALLE: ROMANTIC REVOLUTIONARY. By *David Footman*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1947. Pp. xx, 251. $3.50.)

MR. Footman, whose previous works have been principally in the field of fiction, has chosen, writing on Lassalle, to stick very closely to his subject's personality and day-to-day activities. This is in no sense a "Life and Times" biography. The result is a book which leaves the reader with a curious sensation of emptiness. A colorful and rich personality has been delineated, the reader's attention has been held constantly by the good literary style, but the background is only sketched in and remains two-dimensional. Lassalle postures in a vacuum. When one realizes that the background is composed of equal portions of socialism and nationalism, two of the most vital forces in modern society, this omission becomes the more regrettable.

A heavy emphasis is laid on Lassalle's early life; in fact the part dealing with his last three decisive years is well less than half the book. While this corrects the situation of unbalance to be found in earlier lives of Lassalle, it tends to lessen the subject's importance. Those early years are dealt with exceedingly well. The violently emotional adolescent, the self-appointed Galahad of the Hatzfeldt case, the Berlin show-off, all come strikingly to life.

Perhaps the best part of this book is the foreword, where the author draws together the various threads he proposes to follow. This foreword leads the reader to hope for better things in the body of the work than he finds. The body is made up of horizontal narrative; very little attempt is made to melt Lassalle into his times or to assess his position either in German history or in the socialist development.

Stress is laid on the interesting and varying relationship between Lassalle and Marx. One feels that here is the book's principal boon to the scholar, for earlier biographers have tended to neglect this important matter.

Copious quotation from the diaries and correspondence of Lassalle, Marx,

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and Countess Hatzfeldt is another noteworthy strength of the work. A short bibliographical note is also included as well as an index.

This is a book of considerable narrative and psychological worth which, however, falls short of importance because it fails to measure its subject in his intellectual and social context.

Stanford University MARSHALL DILL, JR.

LE ORIGINI DELLA GUERRA DEL 1914. By *Luigi Albertini*. Volume I, LE RELAZIONI EUROPEE DAL CONGRESSO DI BERLINO ALL'ATTENTATO DI SARAJEVO; Volume II, LA CRISI DEL LUGLIO 1914: DALL'ATTENTATO DI SARAJEVO ALLA MOBILITAZIONE GENERALE DELL'AUSTRIA-UNGHERIA; Volume III, L'EPILOGO DELLA CRISI DEL LUGLIO 1914: LE DICHIARAZIONI DI GUERRA E DI NEUTRALITÀ. [Biblioteca di scienze moderne, N. 129.] (Milan: Fratelli Bocca. 1942–1943. Pp. xxiii, 612; 680; 697. 220 L.)

As editor of the *Corriere della Sera,* 1900–1921, the late Senator Luigi Albertini (1871–1941) observed from day to day the fluctuations of the European balance and the breakdown of international comity in 1914. After his enforced retirement from public life in 1925 he had time to restudy the events on which he had commented as a publicist. He left for posterity what is, in the opinion of the reviewer, the finest account in any language of the diplomatic origins of World War I. Luciano Magrini, undersecretary of labor in the present Italian cabinet, collaborated closely and obtained a good part of the interview material so judiciously used to supplement the documentary evidence. The work is the product of many years of intensive study and of many revisions. Some ten chapters and two sections in different volumes were prepared for publication by Magrini after Albertini's death. The work is orthodox diplomatic history, a narrative of the operations of foreign offices and embassies. Public opinion, economic interests, nationalism, party politics, and other such factors are considered when the evidence indicates they affected the actions of diplomatists and of heads of governments. Military and naval problems are treated as they impinged upon political decisions.

Not all the secondary works bearing on European diplomatic history since 1878 are cited, but the author displays a thorough acquaintance with the literature in Italian, French, German, and English, and with translated Slavic materials as well, and a precise knowledge of the development of the argument regarding responsibility among the various schools within each of the principal countries. The great documentary collections have been thoroughly studied and correlated with the memoir material and a painstaking effort made at crucial points to probe beyond the written record by direct questioning of surviving politicians and conspirators. Point by point, all available evidence has been assembled and critically examined. The skillful weighing of testimony would satisfy the most meticulous

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methodologist. Full use of the Austrian documents which were published only in 1930; of the *Documents diplomatiques français,* third series, completed only in 1940; of *Die internationalen Beziehungen im Zeitalter des Imperialismus* (Berlin, 1931–1938); and of the *Deutsche Gesandtschaftberichte zum Kriegsausbruch 1914* (Berlin, 1937) enabled the authors to achieve a much more detailed analysis of the July crisis than was possible for either Sidney B. Fay or Bernadotte Schmitt.

Magrini regrets that Albertini did not live to write the conclusions which he contemplated and wisely refrained from writing them for him. As the work stands, the ascertained actions of the political leaders in the various states largely speak for themselves, but there are judgments aplenty scattered throughout the bulky narrative. That Albertini is an Italian is apparent when he draws his character sketches of Franz Ferdinand or of Poincaré or when he notes some of the deprecatory marginalia of William II, but his essential position is that of a European viewing the breakdown of his civilization. The statesmen of Europe are weighed in the balance and found wanting. None is considered equal to the responsibilities of the position which he occupied. These judgments are not the cheap, hasty, and journalistic criticisms of warmaking diplomats of which W. L. Langer once complained: they are a close, careful weighing of the actions of each man in terms of the information available to him and of the alternative courses open at each point.

In terms of the argument in American scholarship Albertini stands with Schmitt, with whose interpretations he frequently expresses agreement, rather than with Fay who is often criticized. As to German responsibility he is quite clear: "(1) that Germany in 1914 wished for Austria to profit from the crime of Sarajevo in order to finish with Serbia once and for all and to save her much compromised prestige; (2) that, if Germany had not wished this, neither Franz Joseph, nor Berchtold, nor Conrad himself would have plunged into such an adventure. . . . the Wilhelmstrasse pushed Austria to quickness, to intransigence and to radical action until the moment in which it perceived that its own calculations of English neutrality were mistaken" (II, 165). But the work is not a one-sided indictment of the Central Powers. The evidence is carefully assembled to show that Sir Edward Grey had little comprehension either of the factors inherent in Britain's position as a great power or of the consequences of his own actions as they affected the Continental governments. The author shows that there is no real argument that Italy contravened her alliance obligations in 1914: but it is made clear that of all courses open to San Giuliano during the crisis, he chose the most miserable and cheapest. Considerable new material is given on the Black Hand conspiracy and much detail added to the story of the sequence of mobilizations. A work of this fine, exhaustive character merits prompt translation.

Historical Division, Department of the Army HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

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THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA. By *Vera Micheles Dean.* [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1947. Pp. xiv, 321. $3.00.)

NEITHER uncritical admirers of the Soviet Union nor the inveterate denouncers of its brutalities and aggressive designs will like Mrs. Dean's book. She criticizes both those who see only evil in the USSR and those who regard Stalin's empire as utopia realized. She mentions that the USSR is not a democracy in the American meaning and that the Soviets continue many features of the tsarist regime "often in more ruthless form" (p. 69). The bibliographical appendix contains literature of pro- and anti-Soviet writers. Mrs. Dean believes that there is a possibility of practical co-operation between the USA and the USSR. She tries again and again to explain the point of view of the Soviet government. She is most sympathetic towards a loan to the USSR, though she realizes how little chance this proposal has under present conditions.

Sumner Welles mentions, in his introduction, that the book "is filled with invaluable factual information" (p. x). That is correct—at least to some extent. Using such works as Cressey's *The Basis of Soviet Strength,* Dulles' *The Road to Teheran,* Baykow's *The Development of the Soviet Economic System,* and much statistical source material, Mrs. Dean gives valuable data about the population of the USSR, its economic policies, and the various phases of its role in world affairs. The organization of the chapters could have been clearer, and repetitions are not always avoided.

Unsatisfactory is the picture of the historical background of the Soviet regime. The role of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia whose heir and destroyer was Lenin, is not discussed. The thesis that absolutism is characteristic of Russian history ought to have been presented with more detail and defended against historians who believe that democratic and constitutional tendencies have existed in Russia and could have become victorious. Lack of space may excuse these omissions but not some surprising factual errors. The *zemstvo* was not created at the end of the nineteenth century, but under Alexander II (p. 59). Moscow's decisive role had emerged a long time before 1500 (p. 60). The description of the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 is inadequate (p. 64). The remark on tsarism's fear of education is at least misleading (p. 58). The Soviets were not formed by Trotsky but came into being before Trotsky's arrival in Russia, during the March overthrow of the tsarist regime (p. 67). On page 66 it is wrongly said that the Russian troops laid down their arms—manifestly Mrs. Dean means the collapse of the Galicia offensive of Kerenski—but this collapse did not result in a general capitulation.

Mrs. Dean's book is valuable for its general point of view that the Soviet regime must be studied not as an isolated phenomenon but as a creation of historical forces. The development of Soviet foreign policies is surely unintelligible if only their ideological communistic aspect is seen, and their relation with Russia's tradi-

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tions and geography is overlooked. But it must also be said that Mrs. Dean herself does not sufficiently analyze the character of the Soviet regime. True, she mentions some of its internal difficulties during World War II, but she is too ready to identify it with the Russian people, and does not emphasize the particular methods of maintaining its power.

There is surely a danger in seeing everything in too dark colors, but there is also a danger in the inclination to present too rosy a view. The Soviet Union of Mrs. Dean is somewhat too good-natured, too harmless. The Bolsheviks appear as progressives who sometimes act too brutally and without regard for individual rights in order to overcome Russian backwardness with accelerated methods. Therefore Mrs. Dean is inclined not to drive deep enough (despite some critical remarks) the analysis of Soviet terminology. Such an analysis would have helped the reader to grasp the central core of the regime—the one-party rule which is justified as a necessary instrument of progress, existing not by chance but as the result of objective developments and conditions, which are exploited and manipulated.

What must be criticized in Mrs. Dean's informative book is not the enumeration of facts, but their selection and interpretation. Despite a wide knowledge of details and the presentation of interesting but isolated facts—for example, Soviet trade relations with Sweden—Mrs. Dean's book does not probe the fundamental trends of the Soviet regime.

University of Notre Dame WALDEMAR GURIAN

Far Eastern History

A SCIENTIST WITH PERRY IN JAPAN: THE JOURNAL OF DR. JAMES MORROW. Edited by *Allan B. Cole*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. xxvi, 307. $4.00.)

YANKEE SURVEYORS IN THE SHOGUN'S SEAS: RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES SURVEYING EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN, 1853–1856. Edited by *Allan B. Cole*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. 161. $2.50.)

DR. Morrow was a young physician who was attached to the Perry Mission to Japan as agriculturist. It was his duty to care for and distribute the seeds and implements sent from this country and procure and care for such as could be obtained. He performed these duties meticulously, and his journal, now printed for the first time, provides more than a footnote to our knowledge of the mission. Arriving at Hong Kong too late to join the 1853 voyage, Morrow used the time to good advantage there and at Macao and Canton. In 1854 he was with Perry at Liu Ch'iu, Uraga, Hakodate, and Shimoda. On every possible occasion he went ashore and walked as far as he could and return the same day. He never had the slightest

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trouble. A friendly man, he received only friendliness. It is doubtful if any member of the expedition met so many Japanese, from the highest commissioner to the humblest farmers and artisans, or saw so much of the countryside as this intelligent observer. The commissioner who signed the treaty, who was also the lord chancellor of the university, himself collected and prepared packages of seeds for Dr. Morrow. The reception by the Japanese of the American implements and machines was carefully noted. Some they already understood, but new ones were received with great interest and carefully studied. They were soon able to operate all of them, including the railway engine, with the sole exception of the telegraph. This took some time.

The "Yankee surveyors" were members of the Ringgold-Rodgers surveying expedition of 1853–1856. A popular account by Lieutenant Habersham appeared in 1857. Commander Ringgold was relieved because of illness and Lieutenant John Rodgers took over at Hong Kong in August, 1854. Later that year he visited Liu Ch'iu and southernmost Kyushu, but his operations along the Japanese coasts took place in the summer of 1855, a year after Perry's treaty. The present volume consists of Rodgers' reports to the Secretary of the Navy, with accompanying papers, some in full, some in extract, and some digested. Only about seventy-five pages deal with the "Shogun's seas." Rodgers had a distinguished career as a naval officer, but in 1855 he was too young and inexperienced to be a successful naval diplomat. Believing in the efficacy of force in an argument he was prone to rely on it. Thus, he marched a column of armed men with a Dahlgren field piece to make his point with the timorous regent of Liu Ch'iu. He landed armed men in Japan and threatened that larger fleets would follow, while individuals were cowed by brandished pistols or well-placed kicks, as Habersham relates. He proposed that the United States force a revision of the treaty. In all his controversies with local officials his interpretations of Perry's treaty were wrong, and the Japanese were correct, but Rodgers would go ahead and do what he believed was right, surveying the inland waters of Japan, landing at will on the coast, and trying to impose an interpretation of "temporary residence" for which there was no foundation. On the other hand, the junior officers who made the coastal surveys, especially Lieutenant John M. Brooke, who in a small launch explored the coast from Shimoda to Hakodate, had no trouble. He landed frequently for supplies and to make observations but he received only kindness and generosity.

The editor's contributions vary. The better job was done on the Morrow, with an introduction, table of contents, extensive notes, a good index, and illustrations taken from the *Narrative* of the Perry expedition. *Yankee Surveyors* has a briefer introductory note, no table of contents although one is needed because the papers are by different authors, no index, the maps so reduced as to be almost illegible, and the notes hardly adequate.

Stanford University PAYSON J. TREAT

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AUSTRALIA. Edited by *C. Hartley Grattan.* [The United Nations Series.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1947. Pp. xxviii, 444. $5.00.)

THIS book is a symposium written by people who are among the best qualified in their field in Australia. It succeeds in giving reasonably full information on almost everything Australian. The various parts, subdivided into chapters, deal with the geography and demography, the history, the constitutional and political as well as the economic and social development, the cultural characteristics of the country, ending with Australia's future in the Southwest Pacific and the world. Few new data are brought to light and the academic reader may regret the absence of references. But the book is presumably written for the general reader who wants to learn the essential facts about Australia in readable and concise form.

Almost every chapter is built up chronologically. This is somewhat tiresome because every fifteen-odd pages the reader is thrown back 150 years to emerge again in the present day, following the historical description of some specific aspect of Australian life. The editor has, however, succeeded in avoiding too much repetition. Unfortunately, he did not succeed as well in avoiding a frequent shortcoming of symposiums: lack of integration. The various chapters stand side by side, packed with facts, logically related, even containing the central theme of Australia's growth into adulthood and maturity, and yet the whole fails to give a well-rounded impression of Australia as it lives. This may also be due to the stress in all chapters (with the pleasant exception of the editor's own) being on description and fact rather than analysis and interpretation. Nevertheless, many chapters bear the imprint of their author's personality. The editor warns that the essays are "based on differing systems of interpretation (from purely subjective to semi-Marxist)" (p. ix), to which might be added that the professional interests, as well as the judgment of values, of the different authors are evident in the selection of and emphasis upon the facts presented. The chapter on "The Constitution and Its Problems" reflects the legalistic preferences of K. H. Bailey, while the chapter on "Tertiary Industries in the Economy" shows Colin Clark's preoccupation with statistics. F. A. Bland's essay on "Public Administration and Its Problems" is strongly flavored with his inclination toward states rights, and B. Fitzpatrick's chapter on "Secondary Industries in the Economy" evidences his social philosophy. Many of the contributors, perhaps in the knowledge that the book is mainly for American consumption, are seeing Australia in a more favorable light than they do in private conversation.

In spite of some weaknesses, this is a good book and the editor is to be congratulated for the masterful handling of a very difficult assignment.

University of Minnesota WERNER LEVI

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American History

THE ATLANTIC FRONTIER: COLONIAL AMERICAN CIVILIZATION (1607–1763). By *Louis B. Wright.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xi, 354, xix. Text $3.40.)

THIS work, as its title indicates, gives the history of the British colonies in continental America to the end of the French and Indian War, with considerable attention to economic and social life. In the last chapter there is a good cross-sectional view of economic and cultural conditions in mid-eighteenth century America. The economic and social history is properly interspersed with a straightforward narrative of events.

The merit of the work lies not in bringing to light new facts but in organizing and interpreting those already established by scholarly research. However, the task of organization and interpretation has been well done. The style is clear and the narrative is interesting. The numerous apt quotations from contemporary writers serve to bring the reader into contact with source materials and also to impart a flavor of originality to the account. Controversial questions are treated with commendable objectivity, and the views of the author are generally based on sound interpretation. An example of this objectivity may be seen in the discussion of the Cavaliers of the Chesapeake colonies and the Puritans of New England. Whether the Puritans were saints or hypocrites or whether the planter aristocrats of Virginia and Maryland owed their high social position to the Cavalier blood that flowed into their veins from the Old World or to the landed estates they carved out for themselves in the New, are questions on which recent historians have wasted much emotional fervor. The author points out the good qualities of the Puritans and at the same time shows that their theology (as well as that of the Quakers) was favorable to the accumulation of this world's goods. As to the Chesapeake planters, he accepts the conclusions of T. J. Wertenbaker regarding the "Cavalier myth" but represents the Maryland and Virginia planters as a cultured and religious class with a strong sense of *noblesse oblige.*

The book is attractively bound and printed and adorned with some valuable pictures. The work is remarkably free from factual misstatement of any real significance. The meticulous critic, in search of mistakes, might, however, note a few inaccuracies or inadequacies of statement. The settlement near Boston was Charlestown, not Charleston (p. 140); when in 1644 the Massachusetts assembly became bicameral, the magistrates, who constituted the upper house, did not lose the power of veto on measures passed by the house of representatives (p. 122); Washington's first encounter with the French was not *at* Great Meadows but in the wooded mountainous region a few miles west of Great Meadows. But these errors are of minor significance and hardly deserve mention. This reviewer would attach more importance to his disagreement with the author in the matter of perspective. Too

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much detail, in the opinion of the reviewer, is devoted to some topics and not enough to others. For example, a paragraph is allotted to thumbnail sketches of some obscure members of Franklin's "Junto" in Philadelphia, while too little attention is given to political institutions in general, and the constitutional controversies between the royal governors and the colonial assemblies are barely mentioned. A fuller treatment of Roger Williams would have left the picture of his persecutors not quite so dark. If the sixth volume of L. H. Gipson's *The British Empire before the American Revolution* had come out a few months earlier, Dr. Wright would doubtless have modified his statement to the effect that the latest authority on Braddock's defeat (meaning Stanley Pargellis) put the blame for this disaster on Braddock's incompetence; for Gipson's account is less severe on Braddock than is Pargellis'. These inadequacies are, however, only minor shortcomings in a scholarly, well-written work of real merit.

West Virginia University O. P. Chitwood

PICHARDO'S TREATISE ON THE LIMITS OF LOUISIANA AND TEXAS. Edited by *Charles Wilson Hackett,* Professor of Latin-American History in the University of Texas. Volume IV. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 514. $6.50.)

The first volume of this annotated English translation of Pichardo's treatise was published in 1931. The present volume completes the work. The protracted, slow-paced process of publication well befits the Spanish original, in which Father Pichardo used an estimated one million words to disprove the claim of the United States that Texas was included in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The magnitude of the work is particularly striking in view of the fact that Pichardo focused it on an apparently simple and clear-cut proposition, namely, that the boundary between Louisiana and Texas proposed by the French geographer d'Anville in 1746 was the true boundary. But in order to prove this proposition Pichardo ranged far and wide through three centuries of the history of the area—its exploration, settlement, and administration, and its role in diplomacy—and quoted extensively from a host of manuscript sources and printed works. Time and space were no object to Father Pichardo, and the result was a treatise which is monumental at least in the sense that it is colossal.

This fourth volume contains the last four chapters of Part III of the manuscript, which deal mainly with French aggressions on the Louisiana-Texas frontier and the reorganization of Louisiana after its cession by France to Spain; and Part IV (and last), in which Pichardo refutes objections from both "Anglo-American" and Spanish sources to the d'Anville boundary. Like its predecessors, this volume is equipped with copious annotations, a bibliography, and an index.

Obviously, the value of this four-volume treatise as a historical account is limited by the fact that it was written to support the claim of the author's govern-

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ment in an international controversy. Also, much information on various aspects of the subject has been brought to light since the treatise was written. No one today would think of going to it for the final word on any of the historical problems that it discusses. Yet it does bring together an immense amount of information on many such problems, some of which still require further study. Whether the information is accurate or not, the treatise is valuable as a record of Spanish thought, information, and bibliographical resources at the time of its composition (about 1810); and in testing it for accuracy the reader of these volumes will be greatly aided by the editorial apparatus.

The treatise is particularly interesting as a state paper, for it was drawn up in Mexico by order of the viceroy for the use of the Spanish court in its boundary dispute with the United States. Viewed in this light, its diffuseness is all the more remarkable; apparently neither Pichardo nor the viceroy bothered their heads about boiling it down to a two- or three-page summary for the benefit of busy officials at the court. It is also remarkable that the statement of the "Anglo-American" (United States) position which Pichardo chose for refutation was not any official pronouncement from Washington but an anonymous article published in an American frontier newspaper, the *Mississippi Messenger*.

In general, Professor Hackett has done his editorial job with skill; but he does not tell us what use, if any, the Spanish court made of Pichardo's treatise.

University of Pennsylvania ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

PONTIAC AND THE INDIAN UPRISING. By *Howard H. Peckham.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xviii, 346. $4.50.)

PUBLISHED almost one hundred years after the appearance of Francis Parkman's *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851), this is more than an entertaining and well-written biography. A scholarly study of the factors present in that period of American history, it is based on hitherto unavailable manuscript sources together with anthropological information which has accumulated since Parkman's day, when anthropology as a science was in its infancy.

Primary sources which were available to the author and not to Parkman were the General Thomas Gage and Lord Jeffrey Amherst papers. The former, now in the Clements Library, were kept by the Gage family until 1930, when they were brought to this country; the latter are now available in a number of places in the United States on microfilm. In addition, nearly a century of monographs and studies in local historical journals, devoted to aspects of the Pontiac story, have been drawn upon and their conclusions skillfully synthesized by Mr. Peckham.

The author has produced an excellent biography. He has moreover been careful not only to show Pontiac as an intelligent leader, acting in accordance with the traditional patterns of a culture largely dependent upon a hunting economy, but also to point out the inevitable failure of the Indian reaction to the world-wide spread of Western culture. As Mr. Peckham has so excellently expressed it, "The

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differences between red and white cultures were irreconcilable. Pontiac was valiantly opposing an evolutionary force that could not be stayed; he and his people were the victims of it" (p. 321).

The wisdom of Pontiac as an individual is clearly portrayed. He recognized the technological superiority of the advancing white civilization. He knew that all the morale the Indians could muster was no match for an unlimited supply of gunpowder and long-range tactics based thereon. But the manpower of the savages, combined with gunpowder and tactical instruction from the French, gave him some reason to hope for success. So long as Pontiac believed he would ultimately have the support of the French force of arms, he persevered. Upon realizing that the "French Father" would no longer aid the Indians, he resigned himself to living out his days in country not yet crowded with white settlers. His acceptance and support of the English, his change in residence from the Detroit area to the Maumee, and his steady loss of prestige among his Indian followers indicated that he saw the "course of human events" considerably better than did many of his brothers. And therein lies the difference between greatness and futility.

By utilizing documents which have come to light since 1851 and by the careful use of ethnographical data, Mr. Peckham has produced both an exciting biography and a well-documented work in the history of the Indians' relations with the white man.

Ann Arbor, Michigan RICHARD N. ADAMS

WILLIAM TRENT AND THE WEST. By *Sewell Elias Slick*. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Archives Publishing Company. 1947. Pp. vii, 188. $3.50.)

THERE has been a marked emphasis in recent American historiography upon the study of the eighteenth century frontier, particularly in its relation to Indian trade and diplomacy, war, and land speculation. The broad outlines of a new approach were laid down by Clarence W. Alvord in *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* which appeared in 1917. Since then many details have been filled in by a series of monographs and biographical studies, among which volumes dealing with George Croghan, George Morgan, Conrad Weiser, and Robert Dinwiddie are typical. Now we have a full-length treatment of William Trent, whose career touches nearly every aspect of the history of the American frontier in the mid-eighteenth century. Trent was at various times an officer in the provincial militia, first as captain and later as major, assistant deputy Indian agent in the service of the crown, fur trader, and land speculator on a large scale. He played an important role in the military operations of the French and Indian War on the upper Ohio and was present at the siege of Fort Pitt during Pontiac's conspiracy. For many years he was active in the fur trade, although his operations appear to have been none too profitable, owing to the turbulent conditions in the Indian country. From 1768 to the end of his life he was intimately associated with the famous Indiana and Vandalia land speculations, neither of which was successful.

The author of this study has spared no effort to locate all available information relating to Trent, whether in manuscript or published form. It is obvious how-

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ever, that biographical material in the strictest sense has not been too abundant, with the result that Trent does not emerge as a clearly defined personality. The major portion of the volume is concerned with the involved Indian negotiations, wars, and other activities in which Trent played a part, with especial emphasis upon his role wherever it can be traced from the documents. The earlier part of the volume covers ground which is already fairly familiar, but the last three chapters, dealing with the Indiana and Vandalia land companies, are particularly interesting and valuable.

Mr. Slick himself apologizes for the omission of specific references to the sources used throughout the monograph. Whatever may have been the reasons for this procedure, it is unfortunate that the documentation had to be omitted. The author has pursued his investigation with great care and patience, but the special student who desires to go further into the field will find it difficult to follow his path through the sources. This lack in an otherwise useful and scholarly monograph is largely compensated for by an excellent bibliographical note, which lists the sources used, with valuable critical comment. In view of the amount of space devoted to the history of the Indiana Company, it is a little surprising to find no reference to George E. Lewis' outstanding volume relating to this particular land speculation.

Dartmouth College WAYNE E. STEVENS

THE FIRST CAPTAIN: THE STORY OF JOHN PAUL JONES. By *Gerald W. Johnson.* (New York: Coward-McCann. 1947. Pp. 312. $3.50.)

THIS is a very readable biography of John Paul Jones, although apparently compiled from printed sources and containing nothing new of historical value. There is no evidence that any primary material was used in its preparation. It is undocumented and no bibliographical notes are appended. In a few instances Mr. Johnson refers as authority for statements to "Lorenz" (Lincoln Lorenz, *John Paul Jones,* Annapolis, 1943) or to "Buell" whom he calls "Jones' uninhibited biographer" (Augustus C. Buell, *Paul Jones,* New York, 1900). The account of Jones's life includes certain details used by earlier biographers which have been questioned by historians and proved to be untrue or of dubious origin. (See Albert Bushnell Hart, "Imagination in History," *American Historical Review,* XV [1910], 231–32.)

The narrative of Jones's career is used as a framework for an exposition of those qualities which Mr. Johnson considers the most desirable in a naval officer, and which, without offering proof, he assigns to Jones. To this are added tributes in a superlative degree to Jones for his alleged contributions to the United States Navy and modern naval warfare. Although a number of the gentlemen who served in the Continental Navy had held commissions in the Royal Navy, the author ignores such facts in his sweeping assertion that Jones was a naval officer and that all other Continental officers were merely merchant seamen. In fact many of the former

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merchant skippers, besides Jones, showed themselves very apt in naval tactics and seamanship and certainly became true naval officers.

Johnson says "Before the Ranger sailed [November, 1777] he [Jones] had formulated and expressed to Robert Morris, Joseph Hewes, John Hancock and others practically every one of the ideas that were to play a large part in the development of the United States Navy. From this time on he contributed nothing to the service except prestige" (p. 140). Such allegations are not susceptible of proof, and they have a tone of improbability. Jones himself was much more modest in his own statements. In a long letter of October 10, 1783, to Robert Morris he said: "Until I arrived in France [December, 1777] and became acquainted with that great tactician Count D'Orvilliers and his judicious assistant the Chevalier DuPavillion, who each of them honored me with instructions respecting the science of governing the operations and police of a fleet, *I confess I was not sensible how ignorant I had been of naval tactics,*" etc., etc. (Original letter in Library of Congress. Printed in Robert C. Sands, *John Paul Jones* [New York, 1830], p. 308.)

Johnson's evaluation of Jones's personality appears more critical than other phases of his work. To balance this more discriminate study, Johnson indulges in vivid name calling and unsupported accusations against various persons, both Americans and foreigners, who are portrayed as Jones's enemies. Following his profession Johnson has included much of the journalistic *who, which* and *when,* but seems to have forgotten the necessary *why* for his conclusions.

Washington, D. C. JOHN B. HEFFERNAN

LAND OF LIBERTY: BEING AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF THE COMMON PEOPLE AND THEIR HEROES. By *Fred Hamlin.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1947. Pp. 354. $3.50.)

THIS book is interesting, but the style is rather journalistic and bombastic, and the title is frequently belied by its contents. Democratic institutions and practices were not too advanced during the early American colonial period, but the English-American colonials enjoyed, despite restrictions and hardships, greater freedom in government than the colonials governed by other nations. Yet the author asserts: "Never was a land, dedicated ostensibly to freedom, less free. Never were men, lured by the promise of freedom, more bitterly betrayed" (p. 3).

The following quotations illustrate the style, spirit, and general tone of the book:

Some indentures broke under the pressures put upon them; and, when . . . they were freed, they became the ancestors of the nation's "poor whites" [p. 5].

As the Christian attitude toward the savage red men crystallized, bounties were offered for Indian scalps [p. 28].

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If he became a soldier of the king, [during the Revolution] he joined a well-fed, well-armed, well-clothed professional army. . . . If he pioneered the frontier of American militarism, he became a bum rivaling the last straggler in a horde of beggars, one of an ever changing mass of ragamuffins. . . . Backed by . . . big and little war profiteers, the soldier's future held for him financial and incredible physical hardships, death on the field or the gallows, eventual political and social ostracism [p. 49].

Tom Paine is described as "an unshaven, gin-bibbing renegade son of a pious . . . corset maker . . ." (p. 53). Washington is depicted as "an excellent executive" (p. 67), but he "wasn't a military genius unless that term may be applied to a commander who broke all records for accumulating defeats" (p. 66). "He was inaugurated [President, 1789], appropriately, in the heart of Wall Street" (p. 82). "Washington was re-elected [President], and the reign of dollars continued . . ." (p. 82). Andrew Jackson is called "a border baron, a half-horse-half-alligator man . . . a frontier warrior . . . [with] the uncompromising clan loyalty of an Irish chieftain, the legendary drinking capacity of Paul Bunyan, and the calm, serene reasoning ability, when roused, of a cornered wildcat" (p. 145). The book is composed of many more brief biographical sketches. The author admires the common people and their leaders and is at his best in describing such men as Jefferson, Lincoln, Preddy Meeks (a pioneer), Walt Whitman, Wilson, and F. D. Roosevelt.

In regard to the presidential election of 1824, the author says: "Two others [candidates]— . . . John C. Calhoun and . . . Henry Clay—were unblushing politicos who stayed in the race after being certain of defeat. . . . As a final fillip to reality, Jackson won with ninety-nine electorals to Adams' eighty-four, with Crawford and Clay third and fourth; but without a majority, as then required, the decision was left to the Congress and went to Adams" (p. 155). Obvious errors of fact here are: Calhoun did withdraw from the presidential race in 1824 to accept the certainty of the vice-presidency; Jackson did not win with ninety-nine votes; the decision was not left to Congress but only to one branch of it—the House of Representatives. Besides, a candidate must still receive a majority of the electoral votes to be elected President.

And there are other errors. For example, after introducing Jackson's fight on the bank, the author says, "In the House, Henry Clay led the fight for the bank" (p. 161). Clay was in the Senate. And further, "Wilson's great heart had hardly stilled before A. Mitchell Palmer, attorney general of the United States, began a vicious witch-hunt among immigrants, accompanied by murderous flouting of civil liberties" (pp. 273–74). This was done under Wilson; his heart was still palpitating; and Palmer was his attorney general.

Lehigh University GEORGE D. HARMON

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CHARLES WILLSON PEALE. Volume I, EARLY LIFE (1741–1790); Volume II, LATER LIFE (1790–1827). By *Charles Coleman Sellers.* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1947. Pp. xiv, 293; xii, 468. $10.00.)

LIKE most of her brothers and sisters, the tenth of the sixteen children of Charles Willson Peale was given by her father the name of an artist of an earlier epoch, in this case that of the painter of Cremona, Sophonisba Angusciola. This daughter of Peale married Coleman Sellers of Philadelphia. One of their descendants, Horace Wells Sellers (1857–1933), an architect by profession, contributed articles to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* and wrote the excellent sketch of Charles Willson Peale that appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography.* His son, Charles Coleman Sellers, historical writer, published privately, in 1939, a book with the title *The Artist of the Revolution: The Early Life of Charles Willson Peale.* Sheets of that work which were not then issued are now put forth by the American Philosophical Society as Part I of the twenty-third volume of the society's "Memoirs," together with the author's account of Peale's later life, which constitutes Part II. Skillful editing has reduced to a minimum the differences in format. Mr. Sellers has added helpful genealogical and bibliographical notes. The extensive archives of the Peales, with Charles Willson Peale's unpublished autobiography and many of his diaries, letter books, and other documents, have become the property of the society—to which body Charles Willson Peale was elected a member in the year 1786. Historians generally will benefit by the availability of this rich material.

With entire candor Mr. Sellers has told how embezzlement and forgeries were the undoing of Peale's father, the son of one English clergyman and the grandson of another. Coming to Maryland, Charles Peale ultimately took up teaching as a profession. His death in 1750 left his widow with five children. Of these Charles Willson Peale was the eldest and James the youngest. In the necessity thus created, Charles Willson was apprenticed to a saddler, and later set up for himself in that trade. From these beginnings stem the events which make up not only the life of Peale himself, but those of his mother, his brothers and sisters, his three wives, his children and his grandchildren, and his nephews and nieces and their families. Mr. Sellers has had to write not of one man but of a tribe.

But in all of this Charles Willson Peale, loving and loved, is the central dominating figure. Over and above his making of saddles, his tinkering with clocks, watches, and locks, his experiments with stoves and chimneys, his endeavors toward the making of false teeth out of porcelain, emerges the story of his development as an artist. Aided in Maryland by Hesselius, Peale was sent by wealthy friends to England, where he studied profitably under Benjamin West. His life in Maryland and in Philadelphia, his journeyings to Boston and New York, his soldiering (accoutered not only with rifle but with palette and brushes), his short but active involvements in the politics of Maryland and of Pennsylvania, his

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friendships with the great, and his portrait painting—these form the story of the *Early Life*.

The second part of the work recounts the life of Peale from his fiftieth year to the end; now, portrait painting falls into a secondary place, though Peale is constantly "returning" to it. His major interest is expressed in a combination of his love of nature and his talent for showmanship, with a necessary emphasis on the element of profit.

"Peale's Museum" had its beginnings partly in the gallery of paintings which he had collected at his home. Intermittently set aside for other experiments in money-making, the Museum ultimately prospered when Peale was permitted to establish it, first in the Hall of the Philosophical Society and afterwards in the State House. In this evolution the collection embraced the birds, snakes, and animals which Peale, becoming his own taxidermist, classified and displayed. Even more impressive were the bones of extinct animals and finally the reconstructed mammoth, the "unknown monster," dug up in marshland in New York state. Inevitably there was a constant danger, as Mr. Sellers points out, that arose from the competition of less scientific rivals.

Also, Peale, in this period of success, must yield to his sons the opportunity to share in the Museum and to endeavor to set up similar institutions in Baltimore and New York. The sons did not always agree with their father or between themselves. In regard to the sons and the expanding family generally, the author helpfully summarizes for the reader the successes or failures of each of the children.

If, thereby, Peale no longer stands out so clearly, that is a realistic, pathetic witness to the anticlimax of his declining years—Peale died in 1827. The reader who is interested in Peale's accomplishments as an artist will note the absence of anything like a critical list and discussion of the paintings, miniatures, and prints made by him. It is to be hoped that in another volume Mr. Sellers will supply this want.

Chevy Chase, Maryland St. George L. Sioussat

ABIGAIL ADAMS. By *Janet Whitney*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1947. Pp. xii, 357. $4.00.)

NEW LETTERS OF ABIGAIL ADAMS, 1788–1801. Edited with an Introduction by *Stewart Mitchell*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. Pp. xlii, 281. $5.00.)

These two volumes attest to the continuing interest in the only woman who was both wife and mother of a President.

Mrs. Whitney has had access to three collections of Adams letters which were unavailable to previous biographers of Abigail Adams. Using these and other

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materials with industry and skill, she has constructed a swift-moving narrative which gives a vivid picture of the second First Lady. There is not a dull paragraph in her book. As she herself says, she has given us "the story of the American Revolution as it seemed to a woman."

Unfortunately, however, the author leaves the reader with the impression that Abigail's judgments with respect to men and events were always the correct ones. Mrs. Whitney becomes a partisan of Abigail, just as Abigail was a partisan of John Adams. Through Abigail, John's enemies become Mrs. Whitney's enemies. As a result, John Adams' great adversaries—Franklin, Hamilton, and Jefferson—fare rather badly at her hands. The uninformed reader might well conclude that John's political downfall was solely the result of the villainy of his enemies, not of his own mistakes.

From Mrs. Whitney one receives no suggestion that John and Abigail were jealous of Washington. She quotes from letters in which Abigail expressed favorable sentiments with respect to the first President, but one looks in vain for three other letters. In the first Abigail disapproved of the plan of the Philadelphians to celebrate Washington's birthday in 1798. The second told how she and John had thrown cold water on the plan. In the third, written in January, 1800, she revealed her dislike of the praise bestowed upon Washington after his death. In particular, she objected to the reference to Washington as the *"Saviour"* of his country. These letters are in one of the three new manuscript collections to which the author has had access.

Mrs. Whitney has steeped herself in the lore of the Adams family, but she would have profited from a wider reading in standard general histories and monographs, which would have corrected some of the bias of the Adams letters.

In 1942 the American Antiquarian Society acquired a collection of letters written by Abigail Adams to her sister, Mary Cranch. From this collection Mr. Mitchell has selected 141 hitherto unpublished letters, penned between 1788 and 1801 from the three capitals of the infant republic—New York, Philadelphia, and Washington.

Printed "precisely and completely as she wrote them," these "first thoughts, without correction," of Abigail Adams portray her as no amount of commentary possibly could. As Mr. Mitchell says, "here for the first time, at last, we have intimate details of the domestic life and troubles of the tribe of Adams." The letters are replete with comments on the current political scene, many of them bitterly partisan; and they show that Abigail shared John's predilection for New England, as well as his dislike of public men. Her comments upon Philadelphia and its people are far from complimentary.

The value of the collection is materially enhanced by Mr. Mitchell's careful and detailed annotations, by genealogical charts (which help the reader to identify members of the family referred to in the letters), and by an introduction which is

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the best brief essay on the "Fall of John Adams" which it has been the privilege of this reviewer to read.

Brown University JAMES B. HEDGES

THE FORMATIVE YEARS: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JEFFERSON AND MADISON. By *Henry Adams.* Two volumes. Condensed and Edited by *Herbert Agar.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. Pp. xxv, 472; 473–1067. $10.00.)

"THE historian," wrote Henry Adams in *The Education,* "must not try to know what is truth, if he values his honesty; for, if he cares for his truths, he is certain to falsify his facts." Was he sincere or ironical or both? Whatever his mood, he would probably have been pleased—for he was ever fond of paradox—that one of the most eloquent refutations of his dictum is to be found within the pages of his own *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison.* In the more than fifty-five years that have passed since the publication of the concluding three volumes, there has been no serious challenge of his facts; and others in search of truth have found little evidence which modifies his "honest" conclusions. Many monographs have elaborately documented his useful suggestions and shrewd observations; but none has superseded his brilliant study. In short, the *History* still stands unrivaled.

Yet Adams was deeply disappointed by its initial reception. Some fifteen years after its publication, he wrote to his brother, complaining, "I never yet heard of ten men who had ever read my history." It was exaggeration, to be sure; but there is point in the statement, for it emphasizes the probability that a nine-volume portrayal of the first sixteen years of the nineteenth century in the United States would not be widely read, whatever its merits. Pondering this, Herbert Agar decided it was an excellent reason for preparing a condensed version of Henry Adams' work. It was too important, he felt, to be left only to scholars and professional students of history.

The length of the original is here reduced by two thirds; and editor and publisher have managed to present an attractive version in two slender volumes. It would be easy to quarrel with the editorial decisions as to what portions of this great history should be omitted; but Mr. Agar need not apologize to historians for the principles which have guided him. He has dropped out all of the footnotes and many of the vigorous quotations from primary sources. Yet he has retained all of the commentary which reveals the author in his most perceptive analyses of the nature and problems of American democracy.

Here are the brilliant paragraphs which portray the growth of character—the formation of men's minds—so much more interesting than any record of territorial or economic growth. Here is the enumeration, in sardonic vein, of those traits

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which, surviving two centuries of civilization's transit from the Old World to the New, had come to be accepted as typically American. No part of the *History* is more delightful reading today than the first few chapters of Volume I and the concluding chapters of Volume IX. Of this the editor was fully aware, and his condensation does full justice to the original.

Indeed, the volumes before us preserve the spirit in which Henry Adams wrote—his scrupulous regard for the canons of sound scholarship, his sense of justice in rendering judgment, his superb art in the use of the American idiom. For a generation which knows only the Adams of the later years of disillusionment it is well to have these stirring pages which so plainly proclaim their author's respect for the democratic ideal and his rejoicing in what he called "the infinite possibilities of American democracy." In a very real sense Mr. Agar's work is an important tract for these troublous times.

Columbia University JOHN A. KROUT

JEFFERSON: WAR AND PEACE, 1776 TO 1784. By *Marie Kimball.* (New York: Coward-McCann. 1947. Pp. ix, 398. $6.00.)

THIS volume is the sequel to the same author's *Jefferson: The Road To Glory,* which tells the story of Jefferson's life to 1776. The years covered by the present volume (1776–1784) may be divided roughly into three periods: first, when as a member of the Virginia legislature and in other capacities he was primarily responsible for the passage of a series of revolutionary measures; second, his two terms as governor; and third, the three years before he sailed as minister to France.

In the present reviewer's opinion, the most significant of these periods, viewed in the light of ultimate results, was the first. Elected a member of the Virginia house of delegates, Jefferson quickly seized control of that body and introduced a series of far-reaching measures for establishing religious freedom, abolishing primogeniture and entail, revising the laws of the state, amending the charter of the College of William and Mary, providing for a system of public schools, and taking other progressive and even radical steps. Some of these bills were passed quickly while others were not enacted until later, and then only in part. The net result, however, was the accomplishment of a veritable social revolution in the Old Dominion.

As governor of Virginia, 1779–1781, Jefferson faced "a crescendo of misfortunes." Fearful of placing too much power in the hands of the governor, the framers of the new state constitution had set up an executive consisting of a council of state of eight members, of which the governor was chairman. The council was not an advisory body—it was the executive, and the governor could merely carry out its decisions. And yet Jefferson has been criticized for what

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happened as though he himself had been solely responsible and endowed with power to deal with the crisis. After three years of conflict, Virginians were weary of the struggle; inflation had taken hold in earnest; the militia system was inadequate to meet the need; Cornwallis was approaching from the south; and the British conducted several raids over the state, at one time seizing the capital and at another time almost capturing the governor himself. Jefferson's success in holding on to the reins during those confused and desperate months is his most significant accomplishment as governor. Unfortunately for his place in history, his term ended four months before the surrender at Yorktown. Had it included that decisive event, history might well have regarded his governorship in a different light.

In Congress, after the war, Jefferson led in proposing the passage of fundamental measures such as an ordinance for the government of the western territory and the adoption of a system of coinage, with the dollar as the unit—both of which took final form only at a later date. During this period he wrote his famous *Notes on Virginia,* to which the author devotes a good deal of space.

The style is facile. Throughout, the writer is frankly and even enthusiastically favorable to her subject, and in the main she seems to have made good her thesis that these were notable years of accomplishment for Jefferson and that he has been unjustly criticized, especially for the misfortunes while he was governor. One can't help wondering, however, whether just occasionally he may have made a mistake or have erred in judgment. Certain minor errors in the study do not warrant individual mention, but the inclusion of a critical essay on authorities would have enhanced the value of the work.

North Carolina Department of Archives and History CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

YANKEE LIFE BY THOSE WHO LIVED IT. Edited by *Burrows Mussey.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. viii, 543, v. $6.00.)

THIS is a revised and enlarged edition of the book called *We Were New England,* published by Stackpole Sons in 1937. The editor states that the "lapse of a decade has left me better satisfied with the original choice of material than I had dared to hope. There is nothing I regret having put in, and astonishingly little that I have since learned to regret having left out." However, some items suggested by the editorial staff of Knopf, by a few others, and the editor's own "afterthoughts" have been added.

Yankees are New Englanders in this anthology, and the material drawn upon is called autobiography by the editor. But most of it is better than that, at least for the present purpose: diaries, letters, journals, bits of contemporary history, anecdotes, descriptions, travels—all rather less likely to be dressed up than the more conscious story of one's life. Much of this would be of limited use in establishing objective fact, but it makes a "way of life," from the seventeenth century to the

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Civil War, live for the reader—"what it was like to live in the cradle of the nation." But how quickly the occupant of the cradle had his foot over the side into New York state, and full-grown was striding across the northern tier of territories! And the word "nation" makes one think of other cradles and other rugged and precocious infants.

Some 144 excerpts have been taken from writings of forty-three men and six women, ranging all the way from such as Henry Adams, Lyman Beecher, Timothy Dwight, Jonathan Edwards, Edward Everett Hale, Joseph Story, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Henry Thoreau to the possibly fictitious Tufts who, if his story is real, was "as thorough a bad egg as New England ever produced." We feel the simplicity, the naïveté, the theocracy and Hebraism, justifying the ways of God to man, the intolerance and hardness, the pettiness and meanness, the unbelievable vitality and industry, the inventiveness, the thrift and sharp dealing, the fearlessness and restlessness, the self-reliance and responsibility that poured from England in the decade of the "great migration"—all for the frontier to intensify.

The most fascinating sections tell of childhood, school, and college, often the beginnings of delightful success stories. Then the long central division shows nearly every phase of adult life, and in the closing sections, the Indian attacks, the Revolution, the War of 1812, some miscellany and travels. If there is any lacuna it would be for those aberrations, religious and social, of the early nineteenth century, "freedom's ferment" as they have been aptly called. The editor regrets his having to pass by "some thrilling moments and some great writing," but there is no dearth of these in what has not been passed by. He speaks rather disparagingly of novels of New England. Many indeed are shoddy and unfit for the present purpose; but this reviewer cannot forbear asserting that the tragically neglected New England novels of Mrs. Stowe leave unrepresented few features of Yankee life which Mr. Mussey's industry has here confirmed from the very words of such a cloud of witnesses.

This book stops at the Civil War because it is believed that a "different New England has started to grow up, which in turn deserves another book." Perhaps. But this elder New England has not stopped, as any thoughtful reader of this book must know. We see it and feel it *now;* and it seems doubtful that another integrated, recognizable New England is in the making. Mr. Mussey has compiled a good book for us to read, and highly entertaining; it contains good history; it is good for us to sense the fibre of much that is best in us. The nearly one hundred woodcuts and engravings are from the Museum Society of Brattleboro, Vermont.

University of Minnesota A. B. White

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SALEM AND THE INDIES: THE STORY OF THE GREAT COMMERCIAL ERA OF THE CITY. By *James Duncan Phillips.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. Pp. xx, 468. $6.00.)

WHEREAS Mr. Phillips' history of Salem has proceeded hitherto at the rate of a volume to a century, the present work covers only the thirty-odd years between the end of the Revolution and the conclusion of the War of 1812. The proportion is proper, for these years were the golden age of Salem commerce. There was trade with the Baltic and Mediterranean, with Canton and with the Indies, for whose pepper Salem became the "mart of the world." The vessels, merchants, officers, and crews involved in these voyages are treated with loving care. In addition there is a narrative of Salem's domestic history: her churches, schools, societies, architecture, and politics. The whole concludes with a bravura account of privateering in the War of 1812. The eminence of this small port without a hinterland challenges explanation. The author finds it in the Puritan tradition of Salem inhabitants, the fluid state of society in which men of character, energy, and intelligence rose quickly to the top, the spur of profits, the benignity of Federalist policy and of infant mortality, "the severe culling of the unfit."

As might be surmised from these explanations, Mr. Phillips' is a quarter-deck philosophy. Men are not poor or unfortunate because of economic depression. "It was laziness and drink that kept men down, just as it is today. It was industry, thrift, and ability that carried them to the top, just as it always will be." He identifies "sensible" views with New England, intelligence with conservatism, wisdom with the interests of merchants rather than with those of farmers, impetuously predisposed to "quack remedies." He is against taxes "to take money from one geographical or social group," most labor unions, "the flamboyant morons of Hollywood or Broadway," the overleniency of modern life to those "who avoid their obligations," Phi Beta Kappas from "fresh-water" colleges, and Ph.D.'s, "those so-called doctors who outside of some petty line of research are often excessively ignorant." They know less than Salem ship captains.

While such personal opinions are unlikely to distort the voyages of the *Grand Turk,* they are bound to color the treatment of Jeffersonism and Jeffersonian Republicans, far too many of whom appeared in Massachusetts and Salem. If they were of the masses, such were the victims of "political tricks" and "blandishments." If they were of the upper classes, they were "ex-slave-traders," or like the Crowninshields animated by pique and a hankering for office. As for "Billy" Grey, the richest Salemite of his day, the author cannot understand his defection to the enemy. Jefferson himself is written off as a person of "underhanded tact and hypocrisy" equipped with a "petty mind." From this partisan and partial account readers will derive little understanding of Massachusetts Republicanism or of Jeffersonian foreign policy. The chapter on the embargo, for instance, boxes the intellectual compass.

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Before liberals dismiss Mr. Phillips as a Tory, let them examine their own historical procedures. Mr. Phillips is writing within a candid frame of reference, perhaps no more indefensible than theirs. What is a frame of reference for the goose is a frame of reference for the gander. Meanwhile this volume is an informing example of what can happen to historical actuality through the unwitting application of the frame-of-reference concept.

Bowdoin College EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

ACROSS THE WIDE MISSOURI. By *Bernard DeVoto*. Illustrated with paintings by Alfred Jacob Miller, Charles Bodmer, and George Catlin. With an Account of the Discovery of the Miller Collection by Mae Reed Porter. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. Pp. xxvii, 483. $10.00.)

THE Houghton Mifflin Company has long been noted for the quality of its Western list. This book does that list credit. It is a handsome volume of more than five hundred pages, lavishly illustrated with eighty-one plates, nineteen of them in color, and several double-page. Seventy-eight of those are reproductions of spot water-color sketches made by Alfred Jacob Miller, who in 1837 accompanied a British sportsman and officer, Sir William Drummond Stewart, on one of his hunting expeditions to the Rocky Mountains. Sir William traveled with the fur brigades, and so his artist was able to record the life of trapper and Indian to the life. Miller was an artist of talent and skill. His are the only known paintings of Rocky Mountain trappers actually made in the mountains, and the first paintings made of scenery along the Oregon Trail.

For the discovery of these sketches by Miller we are deeply indebted to Mrs. Clyde (Mae Reed) Porter of Kansas City, who found them in the Peale Museum in Baltimore in 1935. Later she found other work of his in Chicago and in Oklahoma. Her enthusiasm led her to give illustrated lectures, and in January, 1944, *Fortune* printed ten pages of Miller's sketches in color.

Of the plates in the book, three are by George Catlin and ten by Karl Bodmer, the artist who went up the Missouri in 1833 with Prince Maximilian von Wied. Catlin was a miniaturist at his best, though his romantic paintings have a charm in spite of their inaccuracies. Bodmer was a landscapist, who better than any other early painter caught the scale and grandeur of the upper Missouri. But neither penetrated the Rocky Mountains, and it is proper—even though many of Bodmer's pictures remain unpublished—that Miller's work should here hold the center of the stage.

Mr. Bernard DeVoto has provided the text. In his preface he disclaims any intention to synthesize the available materials and so write a modern history of the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains. Instead, he says, he has tried to describe the fur trade as a business and a way of life, to tell what its characteristic experiences were, what conditions governed them, and how these helped to shape

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our heritage. He is especially interested in its relation to the western expansion of the United States, but most of all in how the mountain men lived.

His narrative covers chiefly the short period (1832–1838) during which Sir William Drummond Stewart was in the mountains. Mr. DeVoto shows himself familiar with most of the written and printed sources on his subject. He writes with a great deal of spirit and gusto, and whenever he loses himself in his subject, as in his description of the smallpox epidemic, carries the reader away. However he sometimes places his opaque personality between his subject and his reader, seeming to prefer displaying his own virtuosity. He is too quick to jump to prismatic conclusions, and to be dogmatic on doubtful points. In particular he often blunders in writing of Indians, whom he does not understand.

The book has an elaborate apparatus. The end papers are sections of that excellent topographical map of the land forms of the United States prepared by Erwin Raisz.

Norman, Oklahoma STANLEY VESTAL

THE GREAT NORTHWEST: A HISTORY. By *Oscar Osburn Winther.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xv, 383, xxv. $4.50.)

THE long and fascinating process of collecting and verifying information has as its immediate product a review article, a paper read to a learned society, or a monograph for the specialist. The correlation and interpretation of this material fills larger works intended for serious students. The significance of this book lies in making the results of basic historical research accessible in an attractive form to the general reading public. Its essence is, therefore, a well-balanced narrative and a judicious selection of detail. Mr. Winther was admirably qualified for the task which he undertook and is to be congratulated on his success.

The Great—or Pacific—Northwest comprises as late as 1846 the whole of the Oregon country from California to Alaska. The design of the book is descriptive and not critical. The account of the fur trade is vivid but the reader is not invited to probe into the ethics of unequal trade. Exploration and settlement are well described but no attempt is made to relate them to the historical setting in the great world outside. The boundary dispute is dealt with summarily but the value of claims based on discovery and trade is not balanced against the rights of self-determination either of the settlers or of the Indians who outnumbered them. The Indian wars are recounted but the reader is not put in a position to judge whether or not the fighting could have been avoided.

After 1846 attention is concentrated on that part of the Great Northwest which lies within the United States. A brief description of the pioneer economy and of the early experiments in self-government is made the point of departure for tracing the evolution of contemporary social, economic, and political life.

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It is no easy task to make the history of agriculture, transportation, mining, and industry hold the attention of the reader. Mr. Winther takes full advantage of all that is picturesque and colorful. He makes a skillful use of photographs, of ingeniously designed maps, and of provocative headlines. He eschews, as in the earlier portion of the book, all historical controversy.

The book achieves its purpose. For a distant reader there may be too many names and too many incidents but it is precisely this wealth of detail which the reader on the Pacific Coast will value. Such a reader is naturally curious about what has happened in his part of the world during the last 150 years. But he should remember that the historical background that has made him what he is, must be sought elsewhere and that the Industrial Revolution had greater significance than the fur trade. He will, of course, notice minor inaccuracies and will be amazed to find the port of Victoria, B. C., described as "commodious" (p. 6).

The writing is at times slipshod. "To stir interest and financial support" (p. 115), "The care with which McLoughlin nursed his cattle bore dividends" (p. 77), "Frémont did much to describe and to keep interest in Oregon and the West alive" (p. 121) are examples. And we are told of many people doing things "personally" which no one could have supposed them capable of doing in any other way. In short, the book deserved more care in revision and proofreading.

University of British Columbia H. F. Angus

THE GREAT FOREST. By *Richard G. Lillard*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. x, 399, xiv. $5.00.)

Seldom has an author taken as his theme the full story of the great forest that once covered large sections of the United States and now survives only in isolated patches of virgin wilderness. Professor Lillard's account of what happened to the forest in three centuries of use and abuse is a backdoor approach to American history that reaches into many aspects of the daily life of our ancestors and develops the interrelationships of the nation's timber resources with the political, economic, and social life of the country.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with what the author aptly calls "the backwoods system" covering those times when "most Americans had cleared land, built cabins, lived on corn and pork and game, used frows to split wood and broad axes to hew it, drunk sassafras tea as a spring tonic, fought Indian style, and built roads." These group experiences that helped mold American character and shape national sentiment have been woven into a remarkably well-written story.

The second part describes the contribution of the forest to the causing and the winning of the American Revolution, and how it thereafter furnished a major national resource for a century of material progress. This section concludes with

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a unique chapter on the life of the lumberjack, riverhog, and raftsman. The last part tells of the rise of the conservation movement after centuries of waste, and reminds us that, in the machine age, Americans still make more than 5,000 different uses of wood in 200,000 different articles. There are several appendixes and a useful bibliography.

The book is a stimulating integration of accepted writings on the subject not previously brought together into one volume. Professor Lillard, who teaches English at the University of California in Los Angeles, undoubtedly intended the volume as much for laymen as for professional historians, and the treatment is broadly interpretive rather than exhaustive. The author writes with unusual understanding about the techniques and habits of workers with timber, and conveys an appreciation for the values involved in America's forest heritage that has escaped the pens of most historians.

The absence of full documentation will be noted by professional historians, who also may question the complete objectivity of his account of the relationship of the great lumber companies and the lumber workers in the past eighty years. Nevertheless, the volume is well worth the time of any student of American history and is especially pertinent now when the remnants of our timber in the national forests and parks are under determined attack from alert pressure groups.

Washington, D. C. RONALD F. LEE

REHEARSAL FOR CONFLICT: THE WAR WITH MEXICO, 1846–1848. By *Alfred Hoyt Bill.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xi, 342, x. $4.50.)

To persons interested in American history who lack the inclination to peruse the 1,226 pages of Justin H. Smith's *The War with Mexico,* this book commends itself as the best popular account of the portentous struggle of a century ago. In his preface, Mr. Bill says that he "makes no pretension to profound scholarship." Nevertheless, in several respects, his approach to his subject is more scholarly than otherwise. He has read and digested the contents of nearly all the standard works on the period. He has used to advantage a number of the published diaries and memoirs. Most important, he has steeped himself in the events and incidents of the 1840's, and has re-created that decade's atmosphere in a strikingly authentic manner.

Although the scenes of bloody combat show Mr. Bill's artistry at its best, a less colorful but perhaps more important contribution appears in his blending of military, social, naval, medical, economic, diplomatic, and journalistic aspects of the Mexican War. Thus the general reader is given an opportunity to see the war in something akin to the perspective of participants and lookers-on. The author seems fair throughout. If he has a hero, that hero is President Polk, whom he treats more objectively than Justin Smith did. Throughout the volume, he identifies the junior officers of the forces in Mexico with the roles these young leaders were

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later to fill at Fort Donelson, Vicksburg, Shiloh, and elsewhere. This emphasis on the links—human as well as political—connecting the Civil War with its "rehearsal," may provide the nonspecialist with a new and personalized interpretation of what the Mexican War signified.

In view of the polished passages of description, it is at first surprising to discover that *Rehearsal for Conflict* has its quota of minor errors. Alexander Macomb's name is spelled "McComb" (p. 15). Jonathan Cilley becomes "Gilley" (p. 21). John M. Berrien appears as "Berien" (p. 106), Randolph Ridgely as "Ridgley" (p. 152), and Caleb Cushing as "Caleb Cushman" (p. 319). These and similar mistakes, however, represent spelling aberrations, which probably should be blamed on the proofreader, on gremlins or type lice, rather than the author. More serious, perhaps, even in a popular work, is the omission of the first names of many figures who dash in and out of the galloping narrative. The book is without documentation, which may make it more attractive to the public, though not to the world of scholarship.

None of this criticism detracts from the fact that Mr. Bill accomplished what he set out to do. In *Rehearsal for Conflict,* he has furnished the first worth-while one-volume work on this important American war. He has integrated the relationship between the Mexican campaigns and what followed in the next twenty years. Accepting many of Justin Smith's theses, he has contributed nothing that will revolutionize history, but has created an intensely readable book, capable of blasting some of the favorite myths, traditions, theories, and folklore embedded in the popular mind.

Fort Wayne, Indiana HOLMAN HAMILTON

THE NEGRO IN MISSISSIPPI, 1865–1890. By *Vernon Lane Wharton,* Professor of History, Millsaps College. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume 28.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. 298. $3.00.)

BEFORE the Civil War "a relatively stable social order, with the place of the Negro definitely established," existed in Mississippi. Then came the "violent and comparatively sudden destruction of this old social order," to be followed by a fluid period of "instability and uncertainty" in which a new "*modus vivendi* had to be found." Thus Professor Wharton gives the setting for his study of the development of a new way of life for the Mississippi Negro. In his opinion this was finished about the year 1890.

The post-bellum place of the Negro was fixed by the interplay of several forces. Chief of these were the policies of the federal government, the aspirations of the Mississippi Negro, and the attitudes of the Mississippi white man. Federal policies reflected the fortunes of the Republican and Democratic parties and the rise and fall of individual men powerful in national affairs. The Negro contributed a steady

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pressure toward bettering his own lot, pinning his faith from time to time on land ownership, migration, education, political power, or placating the dominant white man. The Mississippi white man, who in the long run was chiefly responsible for establishing the laws and customs of the post-bellum social order, likewise used several means to secure his ultimate goal, which was to maintain white supremacy. At moments when he was powerless to act he found a ray of hope in thinking that the more freedom the Negro possessed the sooner the race would die out. But most of the time the white man relied on his own efforts, expressed in the Black Code, in sporadic attempts to replace Negroes with Chinese coolies or European peasants, or in a variety of legal, extralegal, and illegal pressures, to force the Negro into a distinctly subordinate place in society. Although Wharton recognizes the preponderance of the white man in this interplay of forces, he does not lose sight of the fact that he is writing about the Negro; and he writes about him with sympathy and understanding, and with a richness of detail that cannot be reflected in a review of conventional length.

It is Wharton's contention that the place of the Negro in post-bellum society was hammered out over a period of some twenty-five years. Inasmuch as the chapters treat topics rather than periods, the general trends through the years are not brought into clear focus. A full-length chapter summarizing developments from year to year would therefore have been helpful. The reviewer would also have welcomed an essay on the teachings of this phase of history on the processes of social change, especially in respect to race relations, for it is evident that the author has meditated wisely on the good and bad results of various techniques and forces.

This study was published in paper jackets in the form described at the head of this review. It was republished in cloth binding with a brief editorial foreword as one of the University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications. Wharton's name does not appear on the initial title page or on the binding of this more dignified issue.

Duke University CHARLES S. SYDNOR

THE SOUTH DURING RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1877. By *E. Merton Coulter*. [A History of the South, Volume VIII.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. 1947. Pp. xii, 426. $5.00.)

IN this eighth (but the first published) of a projected ten-volume series by eminent historians designed to present the history of the South from 1607 to the present, Professor Coulter has written the most comprehensive of all studies of the Southern region from 1865 to 1877. In so far as the political history of the period is concerned, it cannot be said that any new viewpoints are developed or that the author has done other than to marshal clearly and, in the main, competently the well-known facts of the Reconstruction era, covering the Radical program for

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reorganizing the Southern state governments and for changing the way of life as it operated in the relationship of the two races. In so doing, Professor Coulter has rejected, and properly so, recent and abortive attempts to portray the Civil War and its aftermath in terms of the class struggle, and he has grounded his study primarily on the facts developed by a quarter of a century of historical scholarship. Where his perspective and interpretation at times seem faulty, it is probably because too much of his evidence for the years 1865–1868 is drawn from Southern Democratic newspapers without sufficient regard for Northern sources and viewpoints for that period.

To ears accustomed to twentieth century attitudes on the matter of race, some of the ideas expressed in the chapter on "Defense of Race and Creed" have a queer sound. According to Professor Coulter, "the whites of the South came to see in Radical Reconstruction more and more a question of the survival of the integrity and dignity of the Caucasian race," and organized to see that its purity "be not adulterated and lost." As a matter of fact, that was precisely what happened, and it seems to this reviewer that the author was justified when he chose "to write this volume in the atmosphere and spirit of the times here portrayed rather than to measure the South of Reconstruction by present day standards." As he says truly, "great changes have come in human concepts since 1865," and those who are disposed to criticize should "remember what the author set out to do."

Of particular interest in the light of the current preoccupation of the Methodist Church with social problems is Professor Coulter's indictment of that denomination as one "whose church polity and practice became so steeped in the new isms of the age as to make it difficult to distinguish them from a wing of the Republican party." According to his indictment the worst excesses of the Reconstruction regime were chargeable to this church, while he exculpates the Episcopalians "because the members of this faith had not embraced the progressivism of the age." His accusations here seem quite unfair to a body which was born in social turmoil and whose entire history has had much in it of protest against social and economic injustice.

For approximately one half of his study the author devotes his attention to the operation of the Reconstruction governments, with their dismal record of corruption and mismanagement. The chief distinction of the volume, however, lies in the detailed and often brilliant treatment given various aspects of the social life of the time as distinct from politics. In this connection incisive treatment is given to the matter of the re-establishment of banks and the development of banking resources, to industry, agriculture, and the growth of cities.

One of the most interesting sections of the book is devoted to cultural developments, with particular attention to the attempt to create a regional literature after the war, and to newspapers and music. Attention is directed, too, to the matter of styles in dress, particularly feminine, and to amusements including horse racing, baseball, and circuses. Particularly instructive is the account of the revival of higher

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education in the South after the war, with special attention to the founding of Vanderbilt and Johns Hopkins and the leadership afforded by the University of Virginia. The beginnings of common schools in the South come in for attention, with considerable credit accorded both to legislation passed by the radical regimes and to the later systematic organization of public schools by the regularly constituted state governments.

In a final chapter on "The New South," Professor Coulter pays well-justified tributes to those Southerners, led by Lucius Q. C. Lamar, Benjamin H. Hill, John B. Gordon, Henry W. Grady, and others, who brought their section spiritually back into the Union. At the same time, many of the evils that have plagued the South to the present day he finds inherent in the one-party system which was adopted in self-defense during Reconstruction and in the provincial status to which the region was relegated by the victorious North.

This study sets a high standard for the forthcoming volumes in the series which, happily, will deal with less controversial periods and subjects. Though sometimes drawn too exclusively from Southern sources, the documentation is accurate, and it is unlikely that future historians will materially alter the author's basic conclusions.

Nashville, Tennessee WIRT ARMISTEAD CATE

GRASS ROOTS HISTORY. By *Theodore C. Blegen.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1947. Pp. x, 266. $3.00.)

"THE pivot of history is not the uncommon, but the usual, and the true makers of history are 'the people, yes.'" In this opening sentence, Dr. Blegen proclaims the theme for the chapters which follow, and announces his adherence to a philosophy of "grass roots history" which deals with the small, everyday elements that make up the life of a people.

Much of the material now assembled in book form appeared in earlier papers and articles, or derives from the author's research for his well-known volumes on the *Norwegian Migration to America.* His examples are drawn largely from the regional history of the upper Midwest, and from the field of Norwegian immigration in which the author is the outstanding authority. Throughout these pages, and especially in the last chapter, runs a plea, addressed to laymen and historians alike, to cultivate social and cultural history, to study American folk culture in the locality and the community, to search for and preserve the materials from which it must be written, and to promote the kind of co-operative research without which so ambitious an undertaking cannot be completed.

Dr. Blegen quotes extensively from the diaries and letters of travelers and immigrant pioneer men and women, a "literature of the unlettered" which is all the more valuable because it is so simple and artless. From such materials, and from other sources like newspaper advertisements, is reconstructed the story of

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life in the pioneer Norwegian-American communities of the Northwest. Blegen describes their festivals, folk dances and immigrant songs, their food, clothing, recreation, and burial customs, the role of the foreign language press, the development of frontier libraries and debating societies in the log cabins of the pioneers, and the emergence of a peculiar immigrant language. It is only from data such as these that the transition on the part of immigrant groups, from a foreign to an American community, can be understood. In addition to the chapters which deal more specifically with the Norwegians, Dr. Blegen also presents a miscellany of facts describing the settlement of the upper Mississippi country, its natural beauty, the river traffic, the work of frontier scientists who charted its wilderness and described its flora and fauna, the development of hospitals from the military post at Fort Snelling to the Mayo Clinic of today, and William H. Seward's campaign tour in 1860, when, with a distinguished entourage, he came into the Northwest, "moved among men," and apparently liked all he saw.

This volume is good reading for both the amateur and the professional historian, and both will find it rewarding. Itself a substantial contribution to the kind of research in American cultural and social history on the local levels which its author is eager to promote, it should stimulate investigation and writing in this rich and still largely untilled field. The author's deep loyalty to the people from whom he sprung, and to the region to whose cultural development he has made significant contributions, is apparent in every chapter and makes the book a warm, human document, as well as a work of sound and imaginative historical scholarship.

Oberlin College CARL WITTKE

MAKING THE AMERICAN MIND: SOCIAL AND MORAL IDEAS IN THE McGUFFEY READERS. By *Richard D. Mosier.* (New York: King's Crown Press. 1947. Pp. vi, 207. $3.00.)

THAT colorful, yet unpleasant, frontier pedagogue, William Holmes McGuffey, has through the years received much flattering attention from enthusiastic individuals and professional societies determined to transform a cross-grained, homespun educator of the nineteenth century into a twentieth century folk hero. A statue to the author of the *Readers* stands on the campus of Miami University at Oxford, Ohio; Henry Ford has endorsed the McGuffey myth; a full-length biography is in print; and an anthology, comprising selections from several readers, was published in 1936. Scores of magazine and special articles have appeared in the most distinguished literary journals and in the daily press. Most of these—if not all—have been marked by the spirit of adoration and by lack of objective research.

Mr. Mosier unfortunately carries this tradition forward. The very title of his book, *Making the American Mind,* reveals his prejudice and conditions his approach and conclusions. It is one thing to know that the McGuffey *Readers* were

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the most popular texts of an earlier day and were studied by thousands of pupils in little red schoolhouses over the land and another to prove that the studying of the little volumes imposed a pattern of social and moral ideas upon the white men and Indians who were subjected to McGuffey's selections. Mr. Mosier puts up a terrific battle to prove his cause, making reference to Locke and Hamilton and Jefferson and to the "soul of the Puritan." He has measured the behavior patterns and moral ideas which he finds in the *Readers* with ready-made definitions taken from the *Dictionary of Sociology*. In every possible way—even to using two independent readers to gauge and check results—the author has utilized the "scientific" method.

Yet the major thesis remains shrouded in doubt. The volume offers no satisfactory proof that Professor McGuffey influenced the moral tone of his times. Indeed, if one looks at political malpractice, at ruthless economic competition, at the rough-and-ready frontier, and at the ethics of the common man during the nineteenth century, one can discern—except perhaps in isolated humanitarian reform movements—little of the abstract morality advocated by McGuffey.

That the book fails of its purpose perhaps may not be primarily the fault of the author. Perhaps he was lured into a topic that is too big for any man. Certainly, he has made a bit of a contribution when he reveals the type of material collected and published by McGuffey. But to offset this, the book is redundant and badly written. Had Mr. Mosier cut his manuscript and pointed up, in crisp, clear fashion, what was left, the volume would at least have had the saving grace of briefness and of readability.

University of Minnesota PHILIP D. JORDAN

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT OF 1924. By *Kenneth Campbell MacKay*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. Pp. 298. $3.75.)

AFTER the First World War, a new Progressive movement strove to create a grand political alliance among the farmer, labor, and reform elements of the nation. These neo-Progressives were cut from the same cloth as the earlier Progressive movement, and themselves set a pattern of reform and unrest which was used by the New Deal. The Farmer-Labor party experiment in 1920 was too radical to attract the Progressives, who proceeded in 1922 to found the nonpartisan Conference for Progressive Political Action. The C.P.P.A. was created as the rallying point for all Progressives at a time of postwar depression, political restlessness, and revolt against the Harding administration. It fell short of being a real combination of Progressives which could very well have revolutionized American politics. The neo-Progressives were also unable to face up to the problem confronting all such political movements: whether to persist in undramatic nonpartisan activity to elect friendly officials, or work within a major party to gain control and remodel it into a real Progressive party, or found a new party which would become a third

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major party and possibly replace one of the two major parties already in existence.

Mr. MacKay's dissertation has undertaken to examine in detail the climax of the postwar Progressive revival, which is the independent candidacy of Senator Robert M. La Follette in 1924. The work reaches back to the events of 1912 and forward to 1938 to provide a setting for the election year. The background from 1912 to 1924 is sketched in competent fashion, proving that the old Progressive movement was not lost forever in the events of the war. Lacking access to the La Follette papers, Mr. MacKay does not clearly delineate the senator as a particular hero and mainspring of the new Progressive movement. Unfortunately, the La Follette papers have been carefully guarded by the family for many years. In his introduction and bibliography, MacKay indicates reliance upon personal interviews although the text does not bear this out. The Mercer Johnston and Morris Hillquit papers were used to good advantage, but the author did not consult the collection of La Follette-Wheeler campaign papers in the Library of Congress, nor did he gain access to the labor files in the Machinists' Building in Washington, D.C. The latter should yield a harvest of information on the political intentions and acts of the railway brotherhoods who were so important to the vitality of the whole Progressive revival.

In examining the "third party" candidacy in 1924 the author has shed valuable light upon an important story of political protest in the twentieth century. Ever since John Chamberlain's *Farewell to Reform* was published in 1932, a scholarly examination of Progressivism after 1912 has been needed. This book provides some useful correction and factual background.

Those portions of the book dealing with the preliminaries to La Follette's decision to run for President, the fright over an electoral college deadlock, and the difficulties of an independent candidacy are most praiseworthy. It is clear that this piece of history needed study and publication. Mr. MacKay overestimates the influence of the Committee of Forty-Eight as the "right wing" of the C.P.P.A. The forty-eighters never really recovered from the 1920 Farmer-Labor convention quarrel and thereafter existed as the hobby of wealthy J. A. H. Hopkins, who wanted to be the George Perkins of a new Progressive party. More attention might have been devoted to the congressional election of 1922 and the resulting Progressive bloc as important sources of strength for the neo-Progressives at a time when the electorate's temper made possible an effective political revolt. That time had passed away before November, 1924. The book misses the importance of the Socialist party convention which endorsed the candidacy of La Follette, slights the "Harding Scandals" as a campaign issue, and passes over Burton K. Wheeler's campaign for vice-president. Nor does it treat the damage which the publicity of income tax returns (a contribution of the Progressive bloc to the tax law) did to the Progressive campaign because its legal confusions enhanced the value of the Republican slogan "Coolidge or Chaos." A very good chapter on Republican strategy in the campaign is balanced by some weakness in describing the personal

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domination of the Progressive campaign by Senator La Follette and in explaining why the union labor men lost enthusiasm for the cause before election day. Evidence is lacking for the position that La Follette votes were frightened away by large-scale intimidation as in 1896. Mechanical difficulties standing in the way of Progressive voters are stressed, but not the failure of the Progressives to mobilize the support of a first-rate agricultural group or the enthusiasm of the American Federation of Labor.

The book makes excellent sense in its treatment of the nearly impossible hurdles before a third-party movement, considering the stability of our two-party system. It is this portion which will receive the most attention at the present time.

University of California, Davis JAMES H. SHIDELER

CALIFORNIA IN OUR TIME (1900–1940). By *Robert Glass Cleland.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. viii, 320, xx. $4.00.)

California in Our Time, by Robert Glass Cleland, covers the period of my own adult life (which was spent for the most part here in California) and brings back many memories.

The book begins with a discussion of the Republican state convention held at Santa Cruz in 1906, to which I was a delegate from Santa Clara County. I sat with my fellow delegates just on the borderline with the San Francisco delegation of which Abe Rufe was chairman. Rufe attacked those in charge of the convention as presumably representing the Southern Pacific Company. He put himself up as representing the people. It was an illuminating experience to me as a young voter to see how a criminal could use the defense of the people to build up his crooked strength.

From the battle against the forces of graft developed the Lincoln-Roosevelt League and the Progressive party. Edward A. Dickson of the Los Angeles *Express* and Chester H. Rowell, then of the Fresno *Republican,* with others, developed Hiram Johnson as a candidate for governor of California. Johnson campaigned throughout the state attacking the railroad and had great support. Mr. Cleland brings out clearly the powerful effect of a few men, working together, in bringing about an overturn of existing political machines in the state and starting with a new leader into an era of change and responsible government.

The story of "California in our time" is necessarily one of water for irrigation and power and of one of the greatest migrations of the human family. Much of the politics and general interest has been associated with water for the two great metropolitan districts of San Francisco and Los Angeles. The story of the reaching out for water of these two vital communities to the distant mountains and of the inevitable conflicts between the needs of the city and the country is well told. There is a minor error with reference to the Hoover Dam. He persists in using the name "Boulder Dam" although that name has been discarded by action of the

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Congress. He indicates that Secretary Wilbur gave the name to the Hoover Dam but "the name was not recognized by Congress" (p. 200). A study of the record would show that this is not true. Although a considerable effort was expended by those in power to insist on changing the name to "Boulder Dam," its legal name since its dedication has remained Hoover Dam (see *Selected Papers of Attorney General Homer Cummings* [New York, 1939], p. 254).

Not sufficient emphasis is placed in the book on the part played by oil in California's growth through the discovery and development of oil fields. Particularly the great Kettleman field, midway between Los Angeles and San Francisco, with its development on the unit basis, was one of a series of discoveries that brought cheap power and natural gas to California. Oil, together with the climate and the motion picture industry, gave unique economic strength to Southern California. That area needed water for its expansion, and its successful search for water on the eastern slope of the Sierra and later from the Colorado River made the fantastic growth of Los Angeles possible. After the manufacture of its own seaport, the income per acre for that area from agricultural products, oil, tourists, climate, motion pictures, and trade brought about an unrivaled development.

The most difficult chapters in the book deal with the Mooney case and the blowing up of the Los Angeles *Times* building. It is hard to develop even a temperate study of these two events; but as time has gone on, Tom Mooney is no longer generally looked upon as a martyr, and certainly those who blew up the *Times* building have been thoroughly discredited, along with their attorney, Clarence Darrow.

The general result of a mixed population, some from the Orient, and a vast migration of individuals of moderate economic resources, but full of hopes, brought about some of the most unique political campaigns in American history, as well as a strange miscellany of cults. "Ham 'n Eggs," "Four-Square Gospel," and other follies have been pretty well drowned out, but have left small groups that can easily be developed if future social hardships occur. Mr. Cleland has given a fair and able survey of these various social insanities.

In spite of some palpable errors and incomplete coverage of certain important happenings in California's history of the last forty years, the book does give a fair and satisfactory presentation of the principal events. After reading Mr. Cleland's account of affairs with which I have had some contact over many years, I sense the difficulty facing the historian in writing for those who are living the current record of such a state as California. Mr. Cleland has done an unusually good job.

Stanford University RAY LYMAN WILBUR

REBEL AT LARGE: RECOLLECTIONS OF FIFTY CROWDED YEARS. By *George Creel*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1947. Pp. viii, 384. $3.75.)

As one of the few surviving heads of divisions under George Creel in the Committee on Public Information set up by President Wilson, I have decided to write

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the review of his autobiography myself. I did not know George Creel when he summoned me to Washington in the first week in May, 1917, nor he me for that matter. My respect and friendship for him after two stormy years of World War I have not diminished in the intervening thirty years. This review is therefore not impersonal, though it may have some objectivity due to temperament and background poles apart from Mr. Creel's. I once said to his face during a congressional hearing:

> Apparently he lacked all of the qualifications that most of us would have put together as the ideal man to do this job. He succeeded because he lacked most the qualities and all of the experience that an average wiseacre would have said were essential to success. . . . This war has put such safe and sane standards of judging men entirely out of business. . . . The "safe and sane" type could have kept himself out of the press and free from criticism but the committee would have early made its appearance in the obituary column.

Nobody needs to be told that it is not yet in the obituary column. Of all the war agencies it has been the one paid the compliment of several historical studies which, on the record the committee made, have given it and Mr. Creel a clean slate without any cloak and dagger frills. The latest history of the period since 1900 says that despite any shortcomings "Creel's accomplishments were remarkable. He was a pioneer in the field of political warfare and, as truly as Pershing and Baruch, he was one of the architects of German defeat." (O. T. Barck, jr., and N. M. Blake, *Since 1900* [New York, 1947], p. 227.)

In some ways President Wilson's appointment, and his unswerving support, of Mr. Creel was the boldest venture of his administration. It was rewarded by personal devotion and selfless service all too rare in public life. I suspect also that Mr. Wilson found vicarious satisfaction in hearing in private converse a picturesqueness of phrase and vocabulary not permitted him as a Presbyterian in good standing. It was this impulsive indulgence in the biting phrase that often kept Mr. Creel in hot water, but the real reason was that, after Mr. Baker and Mr. Daniels had demonstrated their ability to run their departments, opponents of Mr. Wilson, not venturing to attack a war President, were willing to settle for Mr. Creel's hide. The press also, though it knew better, persisted in treating a committee on public information as a form of censorship. It was easy to do and has persisted because Mr. Creel, its chairman, had, unwisely but in the hope of inducing moderation, accepted appointment as one of a censorship board set up later by congressional action.

It is in the sections on Mr. Wilson and on his own war activities that Mr. Creel makes, as in previous volumes on the same topics, his chief contribution to history, one that cannot be overlooked. But that is not all, nor is Mr. Wilson the only President mentioned. Independence, Missouri, where George Creel grew up, is Mr. Truman's home town, and an uncle and cousin of the latter ended a career reminiscent of Quantrill in the usual frontier style. Kansas City with its

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ward-heeler politics was the scene of Creel's early journalism and reform efforts. The same fearless pen later opened up to public view the seamy side of politics first in Denver and then in Colorado. It was not without significance that in the congressional hearing on the Committee on Public Information budget Mondell of Wyoming dug up and read some of the fiery editorials Creel had directed at the highbinders of Denver Gas and Electric and Colorado Fuel and Iron. It is in these sections on Kansas City and Denver that Mr. Creel pays deserved tribute to such fellow fighters as Frank Walsh, Edward Costigan, Josephine Roche, and, at greatest length, to Judge Ben Lindsey. In California, where he has made his home and which he writes of like a native son, he might well have been the Democratic nominee for governor had not Upton Sinclair and EPIC ("End Poverty in California") split the party. If he had been nominated and elected, he would have been once more a national figure. No one could have prophesied the results, but certainly the color scheme over the Golden Gate would have had higher hue.

With the Roosevelt administration Mr. Creel was soon so far off the ranch that, to use his own phrase to me, he "could not tell what kind of cactus grew on it." I think it could be explained without discredit to either man. And in his final summation on Mr. Roosevelt Mr. Creel's sense of fair play gives him needed balance. His last chapter is a statement of ideals that if underwritten by a national leader would make him forget his seventy years and bring him out fighting in their behalf and for the underdog any time.

My memory of some of the incidents we shared in common is not quite the same as Mr. Creel's, but we are both human. I can, however, vouch for the validity of the whole result so far as I know it. Readers whose thinking is unchanged since McKinley will find their blood pressure going up, but for most it will be a revelation of a Missouri-bred idealist, anchored by a noble mother, who fought for his ideals with all the tenacity of his Virginia and Scotch-Irish forebears. The volume makes its own significant contribution to the history of the fifty years it covers.

Washington, D. C. GUY STANTON FORD

THE ORGANIZATION OF GROUND COMBAT TROOPS. By *Kent Roberts Greenfield, Robert R. Palmer,* and *Bell I. Wiley,* of the Historical Section, Army Ground Forces. [United States Army in World War II: The Army Ground Forces.] (Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1947. Pp. xvii, 540.)

THE Historical Division of the Department of the Army has a gigantic and difficult task before it. A ninety-nine volume history of the Army's role in World War II is contemplated. If the Historical Division's present plan is followed, for the first time in the history of any army in any war, the rear areas, the "staff empires," and the cerebrations of the chair-borne "brass" will receive more treat-

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ment than will the operations of the shooting troops. Only eight of the ninety-nine volumes will be devoted to the European Theater operations, but twenty-eight will be required to tell the story of the "Technical Services." The Historical Division plans to give more volumes to the War Department's statistics and proliferation of buck-sheeted staff studies than it will reserve for the treatment of all the Mediterranean operations.

The War Department's principal satellite within the great mimeograph orbit was the Army Ground Force Headquarters. The Army's official historians seem to think this training staff and organization agency with its ramifications and functions is worthy of four of the ninety-nine volumes. Indeed, the volume under review is not only the first of the Army Ground Force subseries to be published but it is also the first of the entire over-all series to be released to the public.

It is a poor choice with which initially to impress the public as to the importance of, or even the potential interest inherent in, such an enormous historical project. Its best features are some leading footnotes, a laudable guide thereto with a bibliographical appendix that may be an aid to future research. It does contain indispensable statistics, a few excellent charts with able explanations. Everything else in the book could be condensed into seventy-five or a hundred well-written pages without loss of a particle of worth-while information to the literature of World War II.

Of course, such condensation would have made difficult the carefully nursed, often reiterated, and at times almost belabored idea that Lieutenant General L. J. McNair, chief of the AGF, was a master mind at training and a military genius at organization.

General McNair was neither both nor one of these. He, himself, would be the first to deny claims to either. This reviewer knew General McNair reasonably well. He was just a sincere, conscientious book soldier, strong of character, often pedantic, with little or no actual combat experience. He worked hard at a big job in a short, most difficult era of kaleidoscopic changes in tactics and techniques of warfare. Often he did superbly well in spite of his limitations; sometimes he failed dismally.

The cold statistics of achievement, or lack of it, in his organization of ground forces reflect such a failure, notwithstanding the paragraphs of praise that interlard the text. When General McNair activated his headquarters, in the summer of 1940, the Army, counting the soon to be inducted National Guard, numbered just short of a half million officers and men. But when war came December 7, 1941, a year and four months later, and after a year of selective service, there were 1,638,086 men, but essentially there were the same divisions as had existed in the Army as of 1940. Moreover, eighteen of these divisions were still obsolete "square divisions" in accordance with World War I trench warfare tactics. The "triangularization" of these eighteen began early in February, 1942, two months after Pearl Harbor. Moreover, the nine "triangular divisions" that functioned as such through

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the 1940 and 1941 maneuvers did so pursuant to highly tentative and constantly changing tables of organization from General McNair's headquarters, though the Army had experimented with provisional triangular divisions for a year or two prior to 1940. These cold figures and facts hardly support the claims to General McNair's organizational genius so frequently referred to in the text.

The training and maneuver directives, followed by elaborate and often pettifogging critiques, that were prepared for and by General McNair, always screamed for "combat realism." But there was seldom, if ever, much tangible evidence that the general or any of his visiting staff-teams would have recognized such realism had they seen it. In truth, during this same period, the great Louisiana maneuver problems were so artificial in design, they required such correspondingly artificial execution that even the junior reserve officers from ROTC units smelled their artificiality, much to the detriment of morale of the field units. Later in combat—the men found contrasts so great—those maneuvers were the subject of a thousand coarse jests. There was much good training done during this 1940–1941 period, thanks to army, corps, divisional, and lower unit directives and ingenuity, but it was often in spite of rather than because of directives from McNair's headquarters. Early in 1942, his headquarters did launch a series of unit tests on techniques that were excellent, particularly for artillery. General McNair was an artilleryman. Some of the gross mistakes of 1940–1941 were not repeated in later field training.

This volume also sets forth quite a brief for General McNair as a military genius by means of its frequent reiterations as to his insistence on the long, arduous training week; his advocacy of mines and fast, mobile, high-velocity, lightly armored, self-propelled guns for destroying tanks; his insistence upon "economy of force"; his crusade against unit fattening with excess manpower; his demands for combat teamwork, and his arguments for "pools" of units at corps and army levels to be committed in areas, or attached to divisions, only when and where needed. In these, of course, General McNair was often as right as rain. And so were Vegetius, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon when they expressed the same ideas in the jargon, tactics, and techniques of their day. When an answer was in the literature of warfare, General McNair knew he was right.

Withal, General McNair played a sufficiently important role in this war to merit a biography. Ample valid material may be found to make it one of flattery. But with only ninety-nine volumes in prospect in which to tell the great and complex story of the American Army in World War II, so much of one volume should not be diverted to such a theme. Moreover, in such a large headquarters, in which hundreds of officers and men of all ranks and ratings served first and last, someone below the grade of lieutenant colonel must have had an original idea or made a worth-while suggestion on the many problems studied. But, if so, there is no record of it in this book. No one below lieutenant colonel is mentioned, with nearly all the names in the index bearing the title of brigadier general or higher.

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If this first published volume is a fair sample of the ninety-eight that are to come, the Department of the Army's Historical Division would be better advised were it to follow the Civil War precedent of publishing and thoroughly indexing, without editorial comment, all the significant, nonduplicating if often contradictory, documents in a gigantic series, supplemented by military atlases and statistics somewhat in the style of the old *War of the Rebellion: Official Records . . . Armies*. Perhaps that should be done anyway. With all their shortcomings and their obnoxious title, the old "Rebellion Records" have been the inspiration for and the backbone of research in the vast, independent, and generally high-grade military literature of the Civil War. Few if any wars have been better covered historically. World War II deserves as good or better official treatment to facilitate such an independent and detailed historical coverage as was given to the Civil War.

State Teachers College, Superior, Wisconsin JIM DAN HILL

AND CALL IT PEACE. By *Marshall Knappen*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 213. $3.00.)

DESPITE paper shortages and the feeling among publishers that the American reading public is not very interested in books dealing with problems arising out of the war, a number of volumes about Germany have recently made their appearance. Most of them have been written by journalists; several have been official reports prepared by the State Department. Either because their authors have written on the basis of human interest or have been circumscribed by the official positions which they continue to hold, these books have given only a casual or at best a somewhat censored picture of American activities in occupied Germany. Professor Knappen's book is quite different. Its author can speak with the authority of one who was assigned at the very beginning to a key position in the higher headquarters of American military government in the field and who served in that capacity for two long years. Moreover, as a reputable historian he had the professional background for observing what went on and reaching meaningful conclusions.

The study is not at all a conventional historical monograph based on official documents; nor does it take the form of a diary which the author kept, because, as he notes, the Army rules forbade such records and there is a question whether, trying to do the work of a hundred officers as he did, there would have been time to keep a detailed diary. Nevertheless, this rather brief book seems to this reviewer to be a contribution of major importance, not only for the military historian and for those who have a special interest in education and religious affairs activities of American military government in Germany but for a larger group who are concerned with general military government, American foreign policy, and the ability of the United States to cope with the immensely complicated problems of the modern world.

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The author devotes the greater part of his limited space to such topics as reopening the schools, the problem of teaching personnel, providing textbooks, denazification, youth work, information control, and the activities of the German churches, but he also finds time to write one of the most penetrating critiques of the Morgenthau Plan and throughout his book makes comments on American military government as a whole which are extremely incisive and illuminating. Many of his passages are more than ordinarily moving because of the vividness of the description and the immanent fairness of the reasoning. While a reader is frequently plunged into gloom as a result of the shortcomings depicted, there is always an awareness of the underlying importance of military government. Only the stupid would question the keen interest and constructive purpose on the part of the author; indeed he states unequivocally that his primary purpose in writing is his deep-rooted hope that the American people even at this late date can be aroused to an understanding of the importance of the American occupation in Germany and the role which they play in it.

DePauw University HAROLD ZINK

THE RECORD OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY: DOCUMENTS AND READINGS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Edited by *Ruhl J. Bartlett.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xx, 731. $6.00.)

TEACHERS of American history will be greatly indebted to Professor Bartlett for providing them with this collection of significant documentary and other materials. Until the appearance of Professor Bartlett's book, nothing has been available in the form of a one-volume compilation of documentary materials to supplement such excellent histories as those of Professors Bailey and Bemis.

Professor Bartlett has done his work with care and discrimination. He recognizes in his preface that he has had to make choices that will not meet with universal approval. He labors under "no illusion concerning the prospect that probably every teacher of American diplomacy will look in vain for some particular item that he thinks is indispensable." The author of this review admits to being no exception, but nevertheless he is prepared to testify to the exceptional achievement of Professor Bartlett in including so much that all will agree is useful, and omitting so little that might be regarded as indispensable. As the title indicates, the collection is not limited to official documents and statements. There are included some materials of a distinctly unofficial nature intended to throw light on trends of public opinion.

The organization of the book follows very closely that of Bemis' *Diplomatic History of the United States.* The approach is essentially historical, judiciously combined with the topical. The only serious omission is that of a chapter on our relations with Mexico, particularly since the revolution of 1910. The problems

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arising from revolution and geographical propinquity have been so important to us and so successfully handled by us that they deserve reasonably full documentation in a compilation such as this. The last two chapters, "Wartime Diplomacy: 1941–1945" and "The United Nations," are not completely satisfying from the organizational point of view. A more logical division would be between "The Diplomacy of War and Peace" and "The United Nations." One consequence of Professor Bartlett's arrangement is that documents are included under "The United Nations" that have to do with the making of the peace, as for example the report of the Potsdam Conference and Byrnes's Stuttgart address, and documents such as the Moscow Declaration on General Security and parts of the Crimean Conference report are included under "Wartime Diplomacy" though they are part of the story of the United Nations.

On the subjects covered, there are some items that could have been included to advantage, such as Polk's war message of May 11, 1846; an excerpt from Theodore Roosevelt's annual message to Congress of December 7, 1903, justifying his intervention in Panama; an excerpt from the report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Treaty of Versailles; a statement of Lodge's position with respect to the League (instead of Harding's); an excerpt from Kellogg's address of April 28, 1928, before the American Society of International Law on the American draft of an antiwar treaty, later included in an official state paper; and Norman Davis' statement of May 27, 1933, in the Disarmament Conference at Geneva. The chapter on "American International Cooperation: 1921–1933" does not do justice to the development of American policy during this period. These criticisms should not, however, be allowed to overshadow the fact of major importance that this book is an unusually complete and balanced compilation of interesting and significant documentary material.

Brown University LELAND M. GOODRICH

MAYA EXPLORER: JOHN LLOYD STEPHENS AND THE LOST CITIES OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND YUCATAN. By *Victor Wolfgang von Hagen*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1947. Pp. xviii, 324. $5.00.)

To Maya archaeologists the name of John Lloyd Stephens (1805–1852) is a household word. His two two-volume works, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (1941) and *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (1943) which, incidentally, are among the most delightful records of exploration ever written, first made generally known the architectural and sculptural grandeur of the ruined Maya cities. His careful descriptions, supplemented by remarkably accurate drawings by the English artist Frederick Catherwood, have been of the utmost value to scholars; and they aroused an interest in Maya antiquities which has grown with the years. But although these works and others concerning his journeys in eastern Europe and the Near East were best-sellers in the forties and

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fifties, and although he was one of the most prominent Americans of his day, surprisingly little has been known of his career.

The present biography, obviously the product of long and diligent research, is therefore most welcome. It is also most readable. Stephens was born in New Jersey, attended Joseph Nelson's Classical School in New York, graduated from Columbia in 1822, and prepared himself for the bar at Tapping Reeves' Law School at Litchfield, Connecticut. An incurable and lifelong wanderlust at once took him on a tour of the West and South; he was not admitted to the bar until 1827, and in 1834 he was off on the above-mentioned long journeys in Europe and the Near East. His reputation as a traveler gained by his writings and certain political activities in New York led to his appointment in 1839 by President Van Buren as a special envoy to the, then, theoretically unified Republic of Central America. On arrival, however, he found the country in the throes of revolution. There was no recognized central government, so Stephens, one gathers with few regrets, packed away his diplomat's uniform and set off with Catherwood on the explorations which produced such brilliant archaeological results.

To these adventurous journeys Mr. von Hagen devotes the greater part of his book, but he does not neglect Stephens' very effective work of later years in promoting and developing the Ocean Steam Navigation Company, which started a line to Bremen in 1847 and was the first to receive government subsidies to mail steamships. He was also an active supporter of the Hudson River Railroad. His greatest achievement, however, was the building of the Panama Railroad, an undertaking that had several times failed at other hands. Stephens served as vice-president and president of the company and took an active part in solving the very difficult problems of engineering and sanitation involved. As a result of his efforts the railroad was put through and the movement of people and of goods to California was vastly expedited, but Stephens himself paid the penalty of hard labor in the tropics and succumbed to repeated attacks of malaria, dying in New York in 1852.

Mr. von Hagen's book is an excellent account of the life of a man of whom Americans can justly be proud. As has been said, it is good reading. And it is not marred by the speculations and the synthetic conversations that are the curse of so many present-day "popular" biographies. By the same able pen there is to come a life of Stephens' friend and companion, Frederick Catherwood.

Carnegie Institution of Washington A. V. Kidder

A PENETRAÇÃO COMERCIAL DA INGLATERRA NA AMERICA ESPANHOLA DE 1713 A 1783. By *Olga Pantaleão*. [Boletim LXII, História da civilização moderna e contemporânea, no. 1.] (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo. 1946. Pp. 287.)

Historians on both sides of the Atlantic will welcome this survey of the process by which Great Britain broke down Spain's monopoly of the commerce of her

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American colonies between the Treaty of Utrecht and the end of the American Revolution. Though some use was made of printed documents, this is primarily a work of synthesis, and there are some serious gaps in the bibliography, which can be explained only in part by the fact that it was written under the handicap of wartime conditions. But the book is obviously based upon a careful study of most of the relevant books and articles of first-rate importance published in English, Spanish, and French from the early eighteenth century to 1945; the author has analyzed the problem skillfully; and her organization of the results of her study is excellent. No works in Portuguese are cited, probably because the book deals only with Spanish America, not with Brazil (except for a brief background statement on pages 15–16), though it is written in Portuguese and was published in Brazil.

The central theme of the book—the commercial revolution of the eighteenth century—is one of the most important in the history of the whole Atlantic world at that time. The geographical range of the story is broad, including western Europe, Africa, and North America, as well as Britain, Spain, Spanish America, and the other European colonies in America. In subject matter, too, the range is broad, for the author relates her central theme to the wars and diplomacy of the period, to the development of Spanish colonial policy, and to the independence movement in Spanish America. Paradoxically, she concludes that the independence movement was delayed, not hastened, by the British economic penetration, for this was carried out mainly through the development of extensive contraband trade, in which all social classes in the colonies had an interest and which provided a safety valve for colonial discontent.

The organization is primarily topical, but the author also stresses the fundamental difference between British policy before and after 1750. In the earlier period the British sought to develop direct legal trade with Spanish America and to combat the exercise of the right of visit and search by Spain. In the later period both efforts were abated if not abandoned and the British solaced themselves with a large-scale expansion of contraband trade, which had already assumed considerable proportions under the *asiento,* the annual ship, the South Sea Company, and interlopers. The later period was also marked by an interesting development, the establishment of "free ports" in America—a subject which deserves more careful study than it has received either in this book or elsewhere.

In order to round out the picture the reader should also consult some of the more important works not listed in the bibliography of the book under review, such as Jean O. McLachlan's *Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 1667–1750* (Cambridge, England, 1940), and Roland D. Hussey's *The Caracas Company, 1728–1784* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934).

University of Pennsylvania ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

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COLONY TO NATION: A HISTORY OF CANADA. By *Arthur R. M. Lower,* Professor of History and Political Science, United College, Winnipeg. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1947. Pp. xiii, 600. $5.50.)

CANADA: A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY. By *Edgar McInnis,* Associate Professor of History, University of Toronto. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1947. Pp. xv, 574. $5.00.)

THE RISE OF TORONTO, 1850–1890. By *D. C. Masters,* Professor of History, Bishop's University. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1947. Pp. xi, 239. $3.75.)

THE two general histories of Canada under review are not only a credit to their respective authors but a tribute to a quarter century of patient industry on the part of a small band of Canadian scholars whose researches into the political and economic processes that have molded the life of the Dominion have laid an effective groundwork apart from which such general interpretations as these would not have been possible. With D. G. Creighton's *Dominion of the North,* they signify a maturity of outlook which, contradictorily, Canadians have been slow to suspect in themselves. While the broad outlines of Canada's political and economic development have now been clearly drawn, both works are indicative of how much still remains to be done in the cultural field, one in which Canadian scholarship has yet to determine an intelligible pattern. Professor Lower's rare but shrewd comments on Canadian culture may sufficiently reveal why neither author has devoted much space to it, though it might be studied on grounds other than that of its intrinsic worth.

The two works differ markedly in treatment and in virtue of their respective centers of reference, which in the case of Professor Lower is geographical and economic, whereas Professor McInnis' material is made to subserve a predominantly, though by no means exclusively, political theme. Not from language, religion, and culture, which embody the "stark antitheses" of Canadian life, does Professor Lower envisage the emergence of the Canadian soul but from the only common denominator, the Canadian homeland itself. Yet he sees the Canadian national state as one built in defiance of geography, and almost of common sense. Its people have succeeded in reconciling the irreconcilable in achieving independence of Great Britain while continuing to cherish their ties with her; in maintaining in existence through recurrent crises the federal union "carpentered" in 1867; but above all in surviving as a single political entity in the face of what both authors recognize as the basic antithesis, namely, that between the authoritarian, clerical, conservative French culture and the exploitative capitalism of the Protestant English.

It is with the rise to metropolitan status of the principal stronghold of the latter

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that Professor Masters is concerned in his history of Toronto during the four stages through which it passed from 1850 to 1890, and in each of which social, political, and cultural conditions accorded with the character of the city's economy which the author chiefly stresses. In spite of its strong British sentiment its rivalry with Montreal was offset by the strengthening of its affiliations with New York which have helped to make it, paradoxically, the most American of Canadian cities. Its Toryism, which was not narrowly identifiable with Conservative party politics, was compounded of a bourgeois hierarchy of values, a traditional imperialism, and a militant Protestantism, all of which bred hostility to Roman Catholics and to French Canada in particular. Professor Masters has thus, in smaller compass, thrown light on one of the chief sources of disunity as emphasized by Professors McInnis and Lower.

Although the divisive forces have persisted as a constant threat, they have never triumphed, but they have forced on each generation of Canadians the task of reworking "the miracle of their political existence." Professor McInnis has suggested that the quality that has enabled Canadians to achieve this is their "sound sense of the possible." They have in each crisis "turned from extreme courses to seek a middle ground . . . outside of which lay disaster. If the difficulties have never been completely removed, they have never become completely irreconcilable." Professor Lower agrees that the price of survival has been the perpetuation of diversity through compromise, but in surmising that English-Canadians "might have made at least a Switzerland out of Canada" and have instead "created an Austria-Hungary," he seems to suggest that compromise has been a grudging product of intractibility on the part of the French as well as the English, although it is upon the latter that "the heavier share of responsibility has lain." Nevertheless the mutual restraint that has assured the survival of the dual nationality springs from the same character that has made of Canada "a successful mediocrity of a country," from the experience of which no great product of the human spirit has been forged, "a case of arrested development, where it would hardly have been logical to look for significance in any field." Canadians of the late nineteenth century "were wise in looking to the future, for they did not have a great deal else to look to." By the same token, Canada has attracted little attention among the nations "since it can invariably be counted on in advance by the powers to whom its conduct matters" as a safe and sane country.

Professor Lower's strictures on the Canadian people will, it is hoped, administer a salutary shock where it is most needed, and will come as much from the forceful epigrammatic way in which he often expresses himself as from his provocative opinions themselves. In contrast to the frequently striking but uneven style of *Colony to Nation,* Professor McInnis sustains throughout his book an even flow of words which is admirably adapted to the content, and exemplifies its own kind of excellence in which narrative and interpretation are judiciously wrought

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into a seamless whole. Professor Masters writes tersely, and occasionally enlivens his account with a dry humor that reveals a personal response to situations which many readers will regard as intrinsically ludicrous, the capacity to smile at one's foibles being a further sign of a dawning maturity. Each of these three books in its own way will serve to clarify and enlarge the understanding of the forces that have shaped the experience of the diverse elements of the Canadian nation.

University of New Brunswick ALFRED G. BAILEY

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. . . Other Recent Publications . . .

General History

CONSTITUTIONALISM, ANCIENT AND MODERN. By *Charles Howard McIlwain,* Eaton Professor of the Science of Government, Emeritus, in Harvard University. (Rev. ed.; Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1947, pp. vii, 180, $2.50.) A review of the first edition appeared in the *American Historical Review,* XLVI (April, 1941), 598.

GREAT ADVENTURES AND EXPLORATIONS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT, AS TOLD BY THE EXPLORERS THEMSELVES. Edited with an introduction and comments by *Vilhjalmur Stefansson* with the collaboration of *Olive Rathbun Wilcox.* Maps designed by Richard Edes Harrison. (New York, Dial Press, 1947, pp. xii, 788, $5.00.) Here is a collection of tales of exploration to thrill the stay-at-home with vicarious adventure, but it is also something more. Thanks to the general introduction and to the illuminating comments between the various narratives, it becomes a skillful summary of historic man's exploration of his globe, including all the continents and oceans and both poles. The book refers to but does not describe the earlier migrations of prehistoric man, by reason of which most of the discoveries here described are really rediscoveries. Antarctica is the only continent whose first exploration occurred in the full light of history. The narratives are all in English. Almost every explorer represented, from Pytheas to Peary, has been the subject of vigorous controversy, and while the compiler's judgments are usually sound, it is too much to suppose that his decisions as to details will invariably satisfy the specialists. In general he is more inclined to accept than to reject. Thus, he includes the discovery of the Arctic by the Greek Pytheas about 330 B.C., of Alaska by the Chinese about 450 A.D., and of North America by the Norsemen in the year 1000. Some of his omissions, on the other hand, are a little surprising. For example, while repeatedly recognizing the "policy of secrecy" often pursued by kings and explorers, he completely ignores the evidence of Peter Martyr's *Opus epistolarum* and of some other witnesses, and presents merely the official view as to India and South America. According to this, Vasco da Gama was the first Portuguese to reach India via the Cape of Good Hope and Columbus was the first Spaniard to reach continental South America. Both of them probably had had predecessors in the years immediately preceding 1498, as the *Opus epistolarum* clearly indicates. The strangest feature of the book is its omission of Amerigo Vespucci. The man for whom America, justly or unjustly, was named is not so much as mentioned. Vivid narratives, ostensibly from his own pen, exist, telling of the exploration of the South American coast from Maracaibo almost to the Falklands. Does the compiler of this book regard these as unhistorical? Or did he simply pass over in silence one of the most difficult and baffling of historical controversies in the field of exploration? WILLIAM JEROME WILSON, *Washington, D.C.*

THE SEARCH FOR THE NORTH POLE. By *Nellis M. Crouse.* (New York, Richard R. Smith, 1947, pp. 376, $4.50.) One of the last magnificent geographical adventures, the search for the North Pole, has been traced back to 1527 when a proposal was made to King Henry VIII that a route to the East be sought by way of the Pole. The first attempts were made several years later beginning with Willoughby in 1553, and followed by Barents in 1596, and Henry Hudson, who in 1607 traveled as far north as 80° 23′ N. Hudson's record, phenomenal for the time, was beaten by J. C. Phipps in

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1773 and by Sir William Edward Parry who in 1827 for the first time resorted to sledge travel and after heroic efforts and untold hardships reached 82° 45′ N. Although these hardy predecessors of modern-day explorers failed to achieve their principal aim, a new way to Cathay, they did open the path for commercial exploitation of the Arctic. Between the time of the Second Grinnell Expedition of 1853, which opens the book being reviewed, and the attainment of the Pole by Commander Peary on April 6, 1909, which ends the book, the objective had gradually changed to the more dubious one of reaching the Pole as a competitive end—a game among nations with diminishing scientific motivation. Nevertheless, penetration of the unknown, though impelled by a lust for adventure, added immeasurably to our scientific knowledge. Thus, for instance, Greely's studies laid the foundations of Arctic meteorology, the significance of which was not fully appreciated until World War II; and information derived from Nansen's remarkable studies of polar drift was applicable to our establishment of weather-reporting stations in the Arctic. Mr. Crouse has confined his narrative to the period from 1853 to 1909 and includes with two exceptions only those explorers who, beginning with Dr. Kane, set new northward records. They are: Kane, Hayes, Hall, Nares, Greely, Nansen, Andrée, Abruzzi, and Peary. The author makes no pretense of being comprehensive despite the hope indicated on the jacket, and he ignores much that is controversial. The shadowy figure of Dr. Frederick Cook is not even mentioned, although he accompanied Peary on one of his earlier expeditions; no reference is made to the real cause of the death of Ross Marvin as established by George Palmer Putnam, and there is no speculation about what caused the death of Andrée and his party, although there is fair evidence that it was not from cold or starvation. On the other hand, the book can be enjoyed as an unpretentious, beguiling and readable account of the quest for the Pole. Unlike some historians of northern exploration, Mr. Crouse has not fallen into the error of perverting history with biased criticism. He has for the most part stuck to firsthand journals. This book adds little to our storehouse of knowledge about the search for the North Pole. But if it stimulates the reader to seek more thorough and authoritative information about the Arctic, which is constantly in our thoughts these days, so much the better. WILLIAM S. CARLSON, *University of Delaware*

WAR AND PRICES IN SPAIN, 1651–1800. By *Earl J. Hamilton,* Professor of Economics in Northwestern University. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume LXXXI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. xxvi, 295, $5.00.) Professor Hamilton's *War and Prices in Spain, 1651–1800,* brings to a conclusion his survey of 450 years of Spanish prices, when Spain and her treasures played a major role. This volume and the two preceding monographs, together with a number of articles in the same general field, bring together and interpret price data without a parallel in extent and continuity for any other country. The rich mines of Spanish price history have been worked with consummate skill. The tabular materials presented will serve as tools for a great variety of research by historians and economists. The author in this as in the earlier volumes has eased the tasks of others by his careful descriptions of sources and methods used, his explanations of terms, and his descriptions of the historical background. In the volume here reviewed, the price data are mainly prices paid by public institutions, notably hospitals, in a number of localities. These probably represent, especially as to trend, approximately the general market prices received by producers or wholesalers. It is stated that "the only good wage statistics" are records, beginning in 1737, of the daily wages of workers employed in the construction of the royal palace at Madrid. Construction wages, certainly those paid on a specialized public

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project in a single locality, can hardly have been representative even of the trend of wages paid by industrial employers. Ratios of these wages (per day) to general prices (per unit produced) are made to bear a heavy burden of conclusions regarding trends of wages as labor cost and their effects on profits and investment. In general, however, the interpretative, explanatory, and critical comments impress one as being well based and discerning. The author recognizes and discusses cogently the complexities of price causation and control. A striking general conclusion drawn by the author is that the wars of the period had a comparatively slight direct effect on price fluctuations.

WITT BOWDEN, *Washington, D. C.*

NEDERZETTINGSVORMEN EN -PROBLEMEN IN DE GROOTE HONGAARSCHE LAAGVLAKTE. By *A. N. J. den Hollander* (Amsterdam, J. M. Meulenhoff, 1947, pp. 187.) A sociological study of forms of settlement in the part of Hungary east of the Danube known as the *Nagy-Magyar Alföld* or Great Hungarian Plain. The author, who is familiar with the American scene through his earlier study of the poor whites in the southern U. S., points out numerous analogies with "frontier" areas in our country and in South Africa and Australia. B.H.W.

A HISTORY OF THE JEWS FROM THE BABYLONIAN EXILE TO THE END OF WORLD WAR II. By *Solomon Grayzel.* (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947, pp. xxv, 835, $3.50.) Dr. Grayzel's *History of the Jews* belongs to the very few "up-to-date" works of the time, up to date in the literal sense of the word. The large volume includes even the latest and most cruel chapter of age-old Jewish suffering, the Second World War, and leads up to the eve of the United Nations decision to support the erection of a Jewish state in Palestine. But having said this, one has practically exhausted the virtues of the work. The author's well-intentioned popularization is, unfortunately, not accompanied by any scholarly ambitions. The background of world history against which Jewish history is reflected is very poorly drawn. The characterizations of Egyptian and Babylonian cultures, the chapters on the origin of Christendom, on "Rome—the Imperial Robber," and on the "wave of reaction which overwhelmed Western Europe during the 16th century, broke the chain of progress and prevented it from resuming its normal course"—all this can hardly be called adequate historiography. Dr. Grayzel's work may be useful as a text-book presenting the mere skeleton of events of Jewish history. To the mature student and the scholarly historian it has little to offer. The promise in the preface to acquaint the reader with the "sublimity" of the Jewish heritage can scarcely be said to have been realized.

DAVID BAUMGARDT, *Washington, D. C.*

A HISTORY OF WESTERN EDUCATION. By *H. G. Good,* Ohio State University. (New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. vii, 575, $5.00.)

LITERARY PRIZES AND THEIR WINNERS. (Rev. and enl. ed.; New York, R. R. Bowker, 1946, pp. vii, 119, $3.00.)

WINGED MARS. By *John R. Cuneo.* Volume II, THE AIR WEAPON, 1914–1916. (Harrisburg, Military Service Publishing Company, 1947, pp. 503, $5.00.) In 1942 a hitherto unknown historian published the first volume of a projected full-scale history of air warfare. Carrying the narrative from the earliest times to 1914, it was reviewed in this journal, XLVIII (July, 1943), 858–59. *The Air Weapon, 1914–1916* is the second volume in Mr. Cuneo's ambitious plan. Among the chief points made in this excellent book are the following: (1) both sides in 1914 on the western front

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were approximately equal in air strength; on the eastern front the Germans were superior to the Russian; (2) the German allegations of French air-raids as a pretext for their declaration of war on France were entirely fraudulent; (3) there was no "Schlieffen plan" as such used by the kaiser's armies in 1914 (pp. 27, 388–89, 394); (4) air power for reconnaissance became important after the battle of the Marne and came to be a basic requisite for success within the next two years; (5) German airplane production during World War I never equaled that of the Allies (p. 167); (6) the Allied air superiority at the Somme battle in 1916 contributed mightily to the heavy blow dealt the German army in that conflict; (7) German air power was indecisive in naval affairs during the war; (8) the Fokker was a most effective plane for Germany during 1915–1916; (9) strategic bombing in the modern sense began with a French attack on Ludwigshafen in May, 1915; (10) pre-1914 international law as regards aerial bombing was vague and disregarded by all belligerents. Once again Mr. Cuneo has performed a yeoman task and done it well. His three-score maps and charts are excellent, his bibliography comprehensive; his index meticulous. One could wish, however, that the annotations and arrangement of titles in his bibliography were cast along more orthodox lines. J. DUANE SQUIRES, *Colby Junior College*

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. (London and New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1947, pp. 374, $4.00.)

HUNGARY AND THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS. Volume I [text in French], LES RAPPORTS INTERNATIONAUX DE LA HONGRIE AVANT LA CONFERENCE DE PARIS: NOTES INTRODUCTIVES. NOTES CONCERNANT LES RELATIONS HUNGARO-ROUMAINES. PROTECTION DES MINORITES. NOTES ADRESSEES AU CONSEIL DES MINISTRES DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES. Volume II [text in English], HUNGARY'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS: HUNGARO-CZECHOSLOVAK RELATIONS. PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE PREPARATION OF THE PEACE AND TO THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATION BETWEEN HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. (Budapest, University Press for Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1947, pp. ix, 190; xviii, 172.)

LES CONSEQUENCES ECONOMIQUES DE LA GUERRE, 1939–1946. Par *Jean Chardonnet,* Agrégé de l'Université. (Paris, Hachette, 1947, pp. viii, 327, 350 fr.)

THE UNITED NATIONS. By *Herbert Vere Evatt,* Minister for External Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister of Australia. [Revised from the Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures, 1947.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. 154, $2.50.)

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Ancient History[1]

T. Robert S. Broughton

YALE CLASSICAL STUDIES. Edited for the Department of Classics by *Alfred R. Bellinger.* Volume X. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947, pp. 281, plates, $4.00.) This volume contains three studies of considerable interest and value. The first, entitled "Musonius Rufus, 'The Roman Socrates,'" by Cora E. Lutz, brings together in convenient form the discourses and fragments, including the newer papyrological material, in a new edition complete with text, apparatus, and translation. The introduction presents a sound and critical appraisal of the evidence regarding Musonius' life and associations. The work will be of considerable service to students of Roman Stoicism. In the second, on "Plato's Theory of Natural Law," by Joseph P. Maguire, the expressions of his theory or theories are examined both in relation to the metaphysical form of the good and their practical application by human beings in society. The third, "The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias," by Elizabeth H. Gilliam, publishes twenty-five papyri, complete with text and suggested restorations, plates, commentary, and translation, which form the major portion now preserved of the archives of this temple in a village of the Fayum. These documents consist of lists of priests, inventories of temple equipment, receipts, acknowledgments of receipts, and, most interesting, petitions asking for exemptions for priests from forced labor on dikes. Knudtzon's publication of Lund Papyri, 4, arrived too late for Mrs. Gilliam to make the collections complete, but as it stands it affords a valuable picture of the interrelations in one area of the temples of the two crocodile gods with their separate establishments of priests, and gives us a glimpse of their liturgies, tax payments, and relation to imperial officials. A dispute about demands upon the priests for forced labor and the imperial concessions then granted casts a ray of light on imperial policy in Egypt about the time of the Boukolia revolt. One document from the early empire shows that the *epistatikon hiereon* was levied then.

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[1] Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

PROGRESS OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. By *S. Harrison Thomson*, Professor of Medieval History, University of Colorado. [Bulletin No. 19.] (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1947, pp. 187, $1.50.)

REGIAM MAJESTATEM AND QUONIAM ATTACHIAMENTA, BASED ON THE TEXT OF SIR JOHN SKENE. Edited and Translated with Introduction and Notes by the Rt. Hon. *Lord Cooper*. (Edinburgh, J. Skinner and Company for Stair Society, 1947, pp. xv, 398.) This volume is the third edited by Lord Cooper to elucidate the history of medieval Scots' law. The lack of many sources makes necessary careful publication of those still existing, and consequently this work is of considerable importance. Lord Cooper has made a careful study of the evidence regarding the date of composition and origin of the *Regiam Majestatem*, coming to the conclusion that it was written as a lawyer's compendium of the law about 1230. Based primarily on Glanvill's *Tractatus*, it also incorporated laws from widely scattered sources, including early Scots' Laws and particularly the Roman Civil Law and the Canon Law. The *Quoniam Attachiamenta*, written between 1286 and 1386, is included as an appendix to the *Regiam Majestatem*. It deals more specifically with the operation of baronial courts.

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In his introduction, Lord Cooper has not only dealt with the subject of the dating of these two legal works. He has also elucidated a number of points with regard to the sources of the laws. In doing so he shows clearly that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Scotland was in close communication with both English and Continental legal developments. The *Regiam Majestatem* also gives an interesting picture of an attempt to combine the principles and practice of Anglo-Norman law with the works of the Canonists and the Civilians. In this way, the work has a wider interest than that of a mere compendium of Scots' legal practice. A map showing the places mentioned in the laws has also been included. W. STANFORD REID, *McGill University*

RICHARD OF CORNWALL. By *N. Denholm-Young,* Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (New York, William Salloch, 1947, pp. xvi, 187, $3.75.) This is the most comprehensive biography of Richard of Cornwall. Since he was one of the most influential counsellors of his brother, Henry III, this account of his life supplements our knowledge of the reign, especially with regard to political developments. It takes careful account of Richard's estates and other sources of revenue, which won him the reputation of being the richest man in England, and is particularly enlightening on his relations with the Jews, the profits of the stannaries in Cornwall and the recoinage begun in 1247. It also sheds light on several aspects of Continental history. Richard took part in three expeditions to Poitou and Gascony, conducted a crusade to the Holy Land, intervened to some extent in the affairs of Provence and Savoy, negotiated with several popes, and was occupied with German business from time to time after he was elected king of the Romans in 1257. His acts in association with these affairs are related fully, but some of the events in which he took part are explained rather briefly. The treatment of the subject is based upon an extensive search in contemporary sources, which the author interprets with an appreciative understanding of their value. No attempt is made to laud the hero, and in one instance Richard is judged more harshly than he deserves. It is assumed that the earl, who supported Henry III in his opposition to papal exactions from the English clergy until March, 1246, and in July persuaded the king to give way, changed his attitude because meanwhile he had received from Innocent IV a regrant of the legacies and redemptions of vows for the Holy Land originally conceded to him by Gregory IX in 1238 (pp. 56, 57). Actually the bull of March 13, 1246, merely attempted to secure the more efficient collection of the sums due. The renewal of the grant of Gregory IX was made on June 3, 1244 (Lunt, *Papal Revenues,* II, 488, 489). The same bull limited the period of the grant to the date of Richard's return from the crusade and thus conflicts with the implication that the legacies and redeemed vows made after 1242 went to the earl, when he had no further intention "of going to the East" (pp. 56, 63). The significance of the advice given by Richard to his brother in a letter of May 9, 1262, is lost by a confusion of the earl of Gloucester with the earl of Leicester (p. 114; Powicke, *King Henry III,* pp. 427, 428). The meaning of a few statements, such as that in the last two sentences on page 3, is somewhat obscure. Some of the titles in the bibliography are cited carelessly. These, however, are minor defects in a contribution of importance to our understanding of the period. W. E. LUNT, *Haverford College*

INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS OF ENGELBERT OF ADMONT. By *George Bingham Fowler.* [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 530.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. 251, $3.00.) An author whose bibliography totals possibly some sixty-nine books and articles is worthy of attention in any age, even though all he wrote was neither original nor epoch-making. That such a claim may

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be made for Engelbert of Admont is implicit in what the author of this excellent thesis has to say about him. All of Engelbert's writings have not yet been collected and published in proper form, but we do know definitely that he left more than faint traces of his passing and we have now this competent and informing exposition of his life and work. Engelbert's life and associates are discussed in a first chapter, one marking the known steps of his varied career from his birth in 1250 to his death in 1331. This is not exciting reading, but Fowler could rely only upon sources permitting little view of so much that a reader would like to know. We get a glimpse, rather than a full picture, of the Austrian monastic environment of Engelbert's day. Eight chapters, however, are given for a systematic presentation of this Austrian Benedictine's many and varied interests. These sections are uniformly good; several of high order. Chapter III, "Theological and Religious Interests," deals with traditional attitudes, but chapter IV, "Nature," discusses matters far more interesting and illuminating for most readers, even if these do not show Engelbert as a novel thinker. The key to his understanding of psychology is the firm grip he maintains on the hierarchical principle: the control of inferiors by superiors. This is the theme competently analyzed in chapter V, "Psychology." Yet chapter VI, "Educational and Moral Ideals," proved most suggestive and stimulating for the reviewer who felt far more at ease in this meaningful world where author and subject seemed obviously attuned. Engelbert's interests in literature, art, and music are shown in chapter VII and here, again, if he was not a great innovator, he showed, nevertheless, an eclectic curiosity about important matters. Although his writings were characteristically scholastic and rhetorical, and he could be pompous, Engelbert had a feeling for language and Fowler notes that his writing became stronger, clearer, and more authoritative with passing years. "History," he said, "is the orderly narration of events as they occurred" and his historical interests, discussed in chapter VIII, are not devoid of interest even if they fit quite clearly into the pattern of history *sub specie aeternitatis*. A brief appraisal of his ideas on government and society, which many have previously analyzed, properly rounds out this survey of his contributions. A concluding chapter summarizes in a convenient and cogent manner the author's estimate of Engelbert and his work. Fowler makes claim for neither too much nor too little, but places Engelbert in proper setting. He has demonstrated beyond question the presence of a strong intellectual tradition in Austrian monastic schools, concluding that although Engelbert's writings had a restricted circulation during the Middle Ages, they were not therefore inferior in quality. A list of Engelbert's authentic and dubious writings is provided as are two helpful bibliographies and an index of *incipits*. There is also an index that proved satisfactory where tested. The thorough documentation of the narrative is excellent and reflects at once the industry and competence of the writer. This first work presented by Mr. Fowler shows far greater attention to organization, greater richness in exposition, wider understanding of the general setting, and better balance than is customarily found, or even expected, from a doctoral thesis. What typographical errors intrude are obviously mechanical deficiencies and easily corrected at a glance. GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

THE COMMENTARIES OF PIUS II. Books IV and V. Translation by *Florence Alden Gragg,* Professor Emeritus of Latin, Smith College, with historical notes by *Leona C. Gabel,* Professor of History, Smith College. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXX.] (Northampton, Smith College, 1947, pp. 295–409.) The current installment of the *Commentaries of Pius II* in translation carries a step further the project begun in the "Smith College Studies in History" in 1936. Though the humanist pope could

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never be boring, the two books included in this installment, covering the years from the fall of 1459 through the summer of 1461, are somewhat less interesting than the earlier ones, which were reviewed in this journal in July, 1939, and April, 1944. Book IV opens with the invasion of Naples by Jean of Anjou, and both books deal mainly with the tangled story of the Neapolitan civil war, the revolt in Rome, and the pope's rather complicated diplomatic relations with his fellow princes. The grand design of the Crusade was in these years forced into the background by the exigencies of Italian politics. Taken as a whole, the story Pius tells presents a revealing picture of conditions in Italy in the mid-fifteenth century. But only a specialist in the political history of the period will care to make the effort required to straighten out his detailed account of a pointless war and the shifty intrigues of princes and *condottieri*. As always, Pius is at his best in his parenthetical comments, many of them fortunately saved from oblivion by the discovery of the original manuscript and here published in full. In these candid asides, the cultural humanist and keen observer of men and politics reveals in its purest form the Renaissance spirit that fired the imagination of Jakob Burckhardt. WALLACE K. FERGUSON, *New York University*

DAS WERDEN EINES KÖNIGS NACH ALTSCHWEDISCHEM RECHT: DER KÖNIGSRITUS ALS MAGISCHER AKT. Von *Karl Olivecrona.* [Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N.F.Avd. 1. Bd 44. Nr. 1.] (Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1947, pp. 46, 3 kr.) In this monograph, first issued in 1942 in Swedish, the author, whose apologies for Hitlerite Germany were extensively commented on some years ago, explores a small field of early Germanic history, far removed from heated discussion of more recent days. On this subject he speaks with some authority, being a professor in jurisprudence at Lund. He seeks to clear up a certain ambiguity surrounding the early legal expression, *"döma till konung"* (and the correlative phrase *"till krono och konnunx döma"*) which occurs in several provincial law texts, notably in the Upplandslag and the Södermannlag. He contends that the phrase did not refer to the choosing of the king but to the investment of a king-elect with the attributes of regal authority. It was a part not of the procedure of election but of a rite of investment whose validity was dependent on antecedents going far back into heathen days. Hence, the phrase had not so much a political as a magical bearing. In establishing his point the author uses mainly the comparative method, drawing upon equivalent passages in texts of medieval Norwegian and German law. He has drawn also upon formulas employed in the ceremony of medieval marriage and in that used when the medieval judge was invested with the attributes of his office. O.J.F.

DIE AELTERE GESCHICHTE DER ZISTERZIENSER—ABTEI LEUBUS IN SCHLESIEN BIS ZUR MITTE DES 14. JAHRHUNDERTS. By Dr. Theol. Lic. *Franciscus Hanus,* S.T.D. [Texts, Documents and Studies in Medieval and Modern Church History, edited by Franciscus Hanus, S.T.D., No. 2.] (Breslau, Germany, Breslau University Press, 1947, pp. xii, 205, $4.00.) Printed in the United States and available through the author, Planetarium Station, Box 49, New York 24, New York.

GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

LOCAL HISTORY HANDLIST: A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIST OF SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES. Prepared by the Local History Committee of the Historical Association. [Special Series: S 2.] (London, Staples Press for Historical Association, 1947, pp. 55, to non-members 1*s.* 1*d.*)

BRISTOL CHARTERS, 1509–1899. Edited by *R. C. Latham,* Lecturer in History, King's College, University of London. [Bristol Record Society's Publications, Vol. XII.] (Bristol, the Society, 1947, pp. xvi, 254.) See review of Volume XI (1378–1499) in this series in the January, 1947, issue of the *Review,* page 309.

THE ART OF THE MAP-MAKER IN ESSEX, 1566–1860. [Essex Record Office Publications, No. 4.] (Chelmsford, England, Essex County Council, 1947, pp. xv, plates, 5*s.* 4*d.*) This is an abridged version of the detailed *Catalogue of Maps in the Essex Record Office.*

SIR HUMPHREY MILDMAY, ROYALIST GENTLEMAN: GLIMPSES OF THE ENGLISH SCENE, 1633–1652. By *Philip Lee Ralph.* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1947, pp. xi, 245, $4.50.) Drawing his materials from the diary and account books of Sir Humphrey Mildmay, Mr. Ralph has presented the life of a seventeenth century country gentleman in one of the most troubled periods of English history. The documents are part of the Harleian collection of the British Museum. The diary is not a full commentary on the sweeping events of the period but an account of the everyday occupations of the author and of the society in which he moved. Sir

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Humphrey was not a leader in the important events of his own times but a country gentleman faced with the typical problems of a landed proprietor. He went frequently to London to settle his financial affairs, to view the routine course of political events, and to enjoy the pleasurable pursuits which the city offered. His primary concern was with the sights, the taverns, and the society of his many friends. Belonging to a family whose loyalties were divided on the political and religious issues of the day Sir Humphrey, throughout the Civil Wars, remained loyal to crown and church, perhaps as Mr. Ralph suggests, through "the loyalty of inertia." Lacking the qualities necessary for leadership he made no effort to defend the principles for which he stood although his adherence to the royalist cause placed his properties in jeopardy. Like most noncombatants of the losing cause he was forced to compound for the restoration of his estates, to borrow heavily to pay the fines levied against him, and even to apply to his younger brother, Henry, a member of the parliamentary party, for political relief. His greatest concern was for the evil times which had fallen upon the church, and he expressed his discontent with the reforms in church ritual. With all of the changes in the times his philosophy is best expressed in the diary, "I go on so well as I can in my small affairs, of small importance." Although seriously limited by the brevity of the entries in the diary, Mr. Ralph has succeeded in depicting Sir Humphrey in the many aspects of his life. There emerges from the book the figure of a man who had a limited understanding and appreciation of the events which moved around him. Events which had the most significance in the history of the period are treated as humdrum and ordinary by the diarist who lived through them. He was a recorder, not an interpreter, of events which disturbed society. MARJORIE GESNER, *Michigan State College*

JOHN WILDMAN, PLOTTER AND POSTMASTER: A STUDY OF THE ENGLISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Maurice Ashley*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947, pp. 319, $4.00.) Without accepting the Disraelian paradox that Wildman was the soul of English politics for half a century, the life of this conspirator sheds light into many a dark corner. The light, it is true, rarely amounts to full illumination, because a plotter naturally prefers to work by night rather than by day. In general, Mr. Ashley is to be complimented on the success of his researches, but his conclusion that few men have seen so many of their political hopes realized as Wildman did is open to question. The revolution of 1688 cannot fairly be claimed as a triumph for Leveller principles. A comparison between two of the pamphlets attributed to Wildman—*The Case of the Army* (1647) and *The Leveller* (1659)—and the Bill of Rights suggests that few of his hopes were realized. Incidentally, the title of *The Leveller* and the quotations from it are all slightly inaccurate. For example, the "childish fear" the pamphlet refutes was that the Levellers' object was to "divide the land [*not* decide laws] by telling noses" (pp. 136–37). Inasmuch as the author suffered the misfortune to lose all his notes during the war and had no opportunity of checking his references, criticism should be tempered to the shorn lamb. Nevertheless, there are too many slips, both misquotations and errors of fact. The second line of Dryden's couplet on Monmouth (p. 251) has three mistakes. The Short and the Long Parliament did not both meet in 1642, Lilburne was not released from prison in 1642 and did not emerge from the Channel Islands in 1657 (pp. 21, 23, 83), Goffe's Christian name was William (not Thomas, p. 34), Hugh Peters was not a coward at his execution (p. 160), and the Russell executed in 1683 was not an earl but the son of one (p. 245). Such errors are trivial individually but collectively undermine confidence in the narrative in which they are embedded. More

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serious are very loose generalizations, such as the assertion that in Temple's privy council scheme of 1679 "appeared the seed of Cabinet Government; the King accepted the result of the general election by choosing ministers from the party majority." But the seed had been sown half a century before, and Charles named to the new privy council members of both political parties. Another criticism is the inclusion of too many irrelevancies, especially biographical details of personages with whom Wildman had casual contacts only. For instance, Morland's four wives seem not to have any influence upon Wildman's career. However, the book is very readable, and in spite of its faults, is a useful addition to the literature of the fifty years beginning in 1640.

GODFREY DAVIES, *Huntington Library*

HARTLIB, DURY AND COMENIUS: GLEANINGS FROM HARTLIB'S PAPERS. By *G. H. Turnbull.* (Liverpool, University Press, 1947, pp. xi, 477, £1. 10*s.*) Samuel Hartlib was a friend of Milton's and a sort of seventeenth century encyclopedist. His interests and his correspondence were all-embracing, in Evelyn's words he was "a master of innumerable curiosities." His papers were rediscovered in 1933 after being lost since 1667. Professor Turnbull has edited and translated a goodly selection, chiefly the correspondence with Dury, the peace advocate, and Comenius, the educator. The editing is strictly for the specialist and represents a vast amount of detail gathered from widely scattered sources.

BOLINGBROKE. By *Sir Charles Grant Robertson.* [Historical Association, General Series: G 5.] (London, P. S. King and Staples for Historical Association, 1947, pp. 14, to nonmembers 1*s.* 1*d.*)

THE DARIEN SCHEME. By *George Pratt Insh.* [Historical Association, General Series: G 5.] (London, Staples Press for Historical Association, 1947, pp. 23, to nonmembers 1*s.* 1*d.*)

CATALOGUE OF POLITICAL AND PERSONAL SATIRES PRESERVED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Volume VIII, 1801–1810. By *Mary Dorothy George.* (London, British Museum, distributed by Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. xlvi, 1079, £4. 10*s.*)

CRIMEAN WAR DIPLOMACY AND OTHER HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By *Gavin Burns Henderson,* Late Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Glasgow. [Glasgow University Publications, LXVIII.] (Glasgow, Jackson, Son and Company, 1947, pp. xiii, 320, 21*s.*) The author of these essays was killed in June, 1945, in an airplane accident in Greece. He was then thirty-six years of age. But before his scholarly work was interrupted by the war, he had won recognition as one of the ablest and most productive among the young British historians. His brother, Dr. W. O. Henderson, has selected the essays published in this book and supplied a brief biographical sketch of the author. Ten of the sixteen papers relate to British diplomatic history in the Crimean War period. Of the others, the one entitled "German Colonial Project on the Mosquito Coast, 1844–1848," has, of course, special interest for Americans; his plea, in another paper, for increased attention to recent and contemporary history will perhaps appeal more strongly to history teachers than to research scholars. From Maltese archives Dr. Henderson culled some hitherto unpublished material relating to the history of the Knights of St. John; and in two separate studies he exposes somewhat shady political dealings of Disraeli in the late fifties. Most of the papers are based on extensive research in public and private archives. Letters found among the Clarendon

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papers clarify obscure points in the oft-discussed conversations between Tsar Nicholas I and Sir Hamilton Seymour. From the same source comes new light on Palmerston's use of the secret service fund. The royal archives at Windsor furnished material for "The Diplomatic Revolution of 1854," published in this journal, October, 1937 (XLIII, 22–50). And the article, "Problems of Neutrality, 1854," consists of documents found in the Hamburg Staatsarchiv. By his extensive use of manuscript sources as well as printed primary and secondary material, Dr. Henderson contributed much to extend our knowledge of the diplomatic maneuvers and negotiations, before, during, and after the Crimean War. We get further glimpses of the activities of Aberdeen, Clarendon, Palmerston, and Lord John Russell among British and Buol and Drouyn de Lhuys among Continental statesmen. Nicholas I appears in a much better light than that supplied by Kinglake; some distortions of the prince consort attributable to Lytton Strachey are corrected; and Lord John Russell's stature as a statesman is considerably reduced. The paper entitled, "The Eclipse of Lord John Russell," devoted mainly to the negotiations in Vienna, March–May, 1855, is perhaps the best of these essays, while the more ambitious study, "The Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston," is somewhat disappointing. For all his industry and wide reading, Dr. Henderson failed to cover the wide ground of Palmerston's diplomatic activities. Dr. G. B. Henderson was trained in historical scholarship by the late Professor Harold Temperley; and these essays show that he profited greatly from his association with that great master of research in diplomatic history. By the author's untimely death historical scholarship suffered a grievous loss. But historical scholars are much indebted to Dr. W. O. Henderson and Glasgow University for having assembled and published in book form these important research papers by a much lamented victim of World War II. PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

IRELAND HER OWN: AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE IRISH STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. By *T. A. Jackson.* (New York, International Publishers, 1947, pp. xvi, 443, $3.75.) Too many works on Ireland are little more than propagandist tracts. T. A. Jackson, a British Marxist, has added another volume of this type. In his foreword he confesses that "I write frankly as a partisan," that "impartiality is beyond my scope," and that "My concern is to help forward the cause I uphold," which he identifies as the "fight to win the Rights of Man for the whole world." He contends that in Ireland "the national struggle as a whole arose from the economic consequences of the English conquest," and he believes with James Connolly, whom he greatly admires, that in oppressed countries nationalism and socialism are complementary rather than opposing forces. This is in no sense a general history of Ireland. The events up to 1790 are treated in less than a hundred pages; only the Cromwellian period is given much attention. The most stirring episodes in the modern revolutionary history of Ireland, however, are covered in some detail. There are five chapters on the United Irishmen and the uprising of '98; four on the agitation for Repeal and other aspects of the work of O'Connell—"a tragic figure of colossal proportions" who lacked only "the *will to revolution*"; no less than three on Fenianism, directed by an organization which Mr. Jackson regards as "one of the most remarkable and enduring revolutionary secret-societies in history"; four on the Home Rule struggle led by Parnell, who is given very sympathetic treatment; and two on the background and events of the Easter uprising of 1916. The book is full of questionable assertions and interpretations, and there are numerous factual errors. An example of the former is the assertion that "But for the reluctance of English capitalists to venture into such a risky field as Irish agriculture, the Tory policy" in the late

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nineteenth century "would have been a return to 'Elizabethan' *clearance and plantation.*" Wrong dates are given for the beginning of the American Revolution, the First Home Rule Bill, and the Constitution of Eire. The revolutionary history of Ireland is of interest when told from any point of view, and Mr. Jackson has presented his case well; but the sooner this kind of special pleading gives way to sound and objective studies in Ireland's rich history, the better it will be for historical scholarship and for Ireland. NORMAN D. PALMER, *University of Pennsylvania*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

MONTESQUIEU: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by *David C. Cabeen*. [Reprinted with revisions and additions from the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, June-October, 1947.] (New York, New York Public Library, 1947, pp. 87, $1.00.)

BORDEAUX AND THE GIRONDE, 1789–1794. By *Richard Munthe Brace*. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1947, pp. xi, 279, $3.00.) This volume is more than a modernization of local history. The narrative of events in Bordeaux and the interplay of Bordeaux and Parisian Revolutionary action throw new light on Girondism. More attention might have been paid to commercial problems and naval defense, but the author emphasizes those phases for which departmental and municipal archives furnish corrective detail and new material. Mr. Brace evidences careful research and writes well. Girondism and Jacobinism are discussed on page 132 and following, but new material appears throughout the volume. The excellent conclusion provides an admirable synthesis and in some respects goes beyond the exposition in the text. Two characteristics of Girondism were developing between 1789 and 1792: moderation and federalism. Mr. Brace stresses the natural background for Bordeaux federalism in the independent action of transforming its government and defense peaceably while the central government was preoccupied with constitutions and national problems. Among the significant contributions to an understanding of Girondism is the fact that Girondism and Jacobinism in Bordeaux were indistinguishable until the expulsion

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of the Girondists from the National Convention. The Bordeaux Jacobin Club was actually the center of Girondism, whereas Montagnard radicalism developed in the National Café Club and the Bordeaux sections. Information on these latter supplements the volume of John B. Sirich, *The Revolutionary Committees in the Departments of France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943). The basic opposition between the pacific commercial interests of Bordeaux, which supported Girondism, and the promotion of war by Girondist deputies in Paris underlines the impracticability of the latter and the divergence between Bordeaux Girondism and Girondism elsewhere. The provincialism of Bordeaux is also highlighted in the detailed history of the local National Guard and the difficulties it experienced in providing its share of national defense. Among the methods used by Parisian Jacobins to overcome Bordeaux opposition, diversion of food supplies away from the blockaded city and the channeling of supplies in support of Montagnard radicals within the city were an important factor in Jacobin success. In all these features, this clarification of Girondism is a significant contribution to French Revolutionary history.

LA FRANCE BOURGEOISE, XVIII^{e}–XX^{e} SIECLES. Par *Charles Morazé,* Directeur d'études à l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1946, pp. xvi, 220.) It is a difficult task to venture into such still inchoate fields of study as the economic and social history of nineteenth century France, where, despite the solid and often brilliant efforts of Levasseur, Sée, Simiand, and others, the monographic basis for a scholarly general analysis is simply not there. In writing *La France bourgeoise,* Charles Morazé was well aware of both the need and the difficulty. The book is intended simply as "a group of sketches" treating certain selected aspects of French development during the last century and their interrelationships with one another. In this regard, the title of the work is an unfortunate misstatement, since the book is not primarily concerned with either the French bourgeoisie or bourgeois France, although it treats of both by implication. In a series of somewhat detached essays of this type, it is hard to extract a theme from the whole. The author begins with a discussion of the decline of France's population, a discussion which in turn serves as a sort of loose link with the rest of the volume. The question of demographic inferiority raises the general issue of the compatibility of France and so-called "modern civilization." M. Morazé then examines the various aspects of this larger problem: the impact of material progress on the health and existence of the Frenchman, the effect of the social and economic structure on his mentality and attitudes, the growth of the new capitalistic order and its implications for political thought. He concludes with a brief treatment of the more important economic problems of the twentieth century, concentration of wealth and income, progress in production and distribution, the question of investment and idle wealth, etc. It would be picayunish to cavil about the many questions of interpretation and fact that are almost inevitable with a survey of this sort. Several considerations, however, are especially worthy of note. The demographic analysis suffers from neglect of the changing age composition of the French population (p. 17). The statement that bourgeois anticlericalism has been purely opportunistic (p. 122) might well stand revision in the light of Groethuysen's work on *Les origines de l'esprit bourgeois en France.* Finally, the implication that the key factor in determining bourgeois attitudes toward children has been the question of security, and the contrast on this score of the supposedly more fecund bourgeois of 1830 with his successors (p. 141), will not stand careful analysis. Even in the eighteenth century such bourgeois values as ambition and prudence were effective in discouraging reproduction.

DAVID S. LANDES, *Harvard University*

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O. J. Falnes

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FRA DAG TIL DAG. By *Odd Nansen.* Three volumes. (Oslo, Dreyer, 1947.) As prisoner of the Nazis for some three years Odd Nansen, son of the famous explorer, kept a diary, large portions of which are incorporated in the present work. It portrays the reactions of a humane and civilized person trying to analyze the Nazi system.

NORGES KAMP FOR FRIHEDEN. By *Gunnar Olsen.* (Copenhagen, Det Danske Forlag, 1946.) This booklet, covering the years 1939 to 1945, is published as Number 1 of *Vor Tids Verden*, a successor series to *Vi og Vor Fortid*, which a group of Danish historians issued during the German occupation.

FRIT DANMARKS HVIDBOG. Two volumes. (Copenhagen, Thaning og Appel, 1945–46.) A survey of the Danish underground's organization and activity during the occupation.

GRØNLAND UNDER KRIGEN. By *Finn Gad.* (Copenhagen, Gads Forlag, 1947, kr. 3.50.) An illustrated volume on Greenland during World War II.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

DIE GESETZE DER KULTURENTWICKLUNG NACH KARL LAMPRECHT. Von *Emil Spiess.* [Studia Philosophica: Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Philosophischen Gesellschaft, Annuaire de la Société Suisse de Philosophie, Vol. VI.] (Basel, Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft; New York, Albert J. Phiebig, 545 Fifth Ave., 1946, pp. 120–75, 30 cents.)

THE LAST DAYS OF HITLER: By *H. R. Trevor-Roper.* (New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. xiv, 254, $3.00.) The main purpose of this book is "to establish the facts of Hitler's end and thereby to prevent the growth of a myth." It is "history written from living material," based largely on oral testimony collected in the author's capacity as British intelligence officer. This fact, while an admirable and fruitful departure from traditional methods of scholarship, makes an appraisal of the author's findings somewhat difficult. The book is evenly divided between "the last days of Hitler" and what might be called "the last years of Hitler." The macabre events of the *Führer-bunker* during the last week of April, 1945, are ably presented against a background of gradual disintegration, both of Hitler and his "court," which began as far back as 1941. It is in his introductory chapters that the author gives some highly interesting interpretations of events and personalities, some of which will not remain unchallenged. There we meet the hero of the book, Albert Speer—the "sagacious," the "intellectually uncorrupted," the (to the writing of this book) "indispensable" minister for armament and munitions and chief of the organization Todt. Reading about the heroic attempts of this "technocrat" to save, from Hitler's "scorched earth" policy, the industrial installations of occupied areas, or about his plan to kill Hitler (all mostly

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according to his own testimony), it is difficult to realize that this same man is at present serving a twenty-year sentence for war crimes and crimes against humanity. The portrait of Goebbels and the inferences drawn from his western German origin (his "Latin mind" and his "Latin clarity of thought and style") will likewise find its critics; as will the author's general distinction between North and South German Nazis. Some historians will regret the frequent use of Rauschning's *The Voice of Destruction* as a "completely reliable" source, even though these references do not seriously affect the book's conclusions; or the author's repeated use of statements from a Hitler letter which he never saw himself, but which was "reconstructed" for his use by Colonel von Below, for eight years a close associate of Hitler. As to the key problem, Hitler's death, not everyone will be satisfied with the evidence presented. Only two or three of the witnesses interrogated by the author can actually claim to have seen and recognized their dead Führer; and the reliability of men like Axmann and Kempka on this question is open to doubt. Yet despite the minor faults one may find with Mr. Trevor-Roper's stimulating book, its unique approach, its brilliant treatment, and restrained judgment make it a valuable contribution to the recent history of Germany. Its use of the personal interview as basis for historical research should serve as example and incentive to other historians. HANS W. GATZKE, *Johns Hopkins University*

Through the courtesy of Dr. Fritz Epstein of OMGUS in Berlin we are able to present the following list of historical studies published recently in Germany. Some are clearly important by reason of the topic or author. The list taken as a whole indicates both persisting and emerging interests among German historians. The topics of the Weimar Republic and the reconsideration of methodology are at least signs of the new freedom. Alexander Abusch, *Der Irrweg einer Nation* (Berlin, Aufbau Verlag, 1946, pp. 272); Willibalt Apelt, *Geschichte der Weimarer Verfassung* (Munich, Biederstein Verlag, 1946, pp. xii, 461); K. S. Bader, *Ursache und Schuld in der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit. Kritik geschichtswidrigen Denkens* (Karlsruhe, C. F. Mueller, 1946, pp. 79); Gerhard Boldt, *Die letzten Tage der Reichskanzlei* (Hamburg-Stuttgart, Rowohlt, 1947, pp. 94); Max Braubach, *Die erste Bonner Universität und ihre Professoren* (Bonn, Universitätsverlag, 1947, pp. 199); Ferdinand Friedensburg, *Die Weimarer Republik* (Berlin, Habel, 1946, pp. 412); Karl Fugger, *Geschichte der deutschen Gewerkschaften* (Berlin, Die Freie Gewerkschaft, 1947, pp. 55); *id., Fünfzig Jahre deutscher Imperialismus und die deutschen Gewerkschaften* (Berlin, Die Freie Gewerkschaft, 1947, pp. 36); Martin Göhring, *Weg und Sieg der modernen Staatsidee in Frankreich. Vom Mittelalter zu 1789* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1946, pp. vi, 281); Fritz Helling, *Der Katastrophenweg der deutschen Geschichte* (Frankfurt, Klostermann, 1947, pp. 211); Paul Kirn, *Einführung in die Geschichtswissenschaft* [Sammlung Göschen Bd. 270] (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1947, pp. 116); Gerhard Krueger, *Die Geschichte im Denken der Gegenwart* ["Wissenschaft und Gegenwart," 16] (Frankfurt, Klostermann, 1947, pp. 36); Jürgen Kuczynski, *Die Bewegung der deutschen Wirtschaft von 1800–1946, 16 Vorlesungen* (Berlin-Leipzig, Volk und Wissen Verlag, 1947, pp. 199); *id., Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1800 bis in die Gegenwart,* Vol. II, *1933–1946* (Berlin, Die Freie Gewerkschaft, 1947, pp. 292); *id.,* und Grete Wittkowski, *Die deutsch-russischen Handelsbeziehungen in den letzten 150 Jahren* (Berlin, Die Wirtschaft, 1947, pp. 126); Georg Lukacs, *Deutsche Literatur im Zeitalter des Imperialismus. Eine Übersicht ihrer Hauptströmungen* (Berlin, Aufbau Verlag, 1947, pp. 71); Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus,* 2. Aufl. (Munich, Leibniz Verlag, 1946, pp. 637); *id., Die deutsche Katastrophe. Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen,* 2. Aufl. (Wiesbaden, Brockhaus, 1946, pp. 177); Alexander

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

THE DAWN OF HUMANISM IN ITALY. An Inaugural Lecture delivered at University College, London, on 28th May 1947 by *Roberto Weiss*, Professor of Italian in the University of London. (London, H. K. Lewis, 1947, pp. 23, 2*s.* 6*d.*)

ILLUMINISTI, GIANSENISTI E GIACOBINI NELL'ITALIA DEL SETTECENTO. By *Ernesto Codignola.* (Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1947, pp. ix, 381, 650 l.) In the scholarly and brilliant essays that make up this volume, the author has greatly advanced our knowledge of the Jansenist movement in Italy, to which he had already made a signal contribution in his three-volume *Carteggi di giansenisti liguri.* In the book before us, Codignola presents, among other things, his fresh and illuminating findings on Jansenism in Piedmont, Tuscany, and Rome; he takes issue with the earlier and well-known interpretations of Rota and Jemolo with regard to the essential character of Italian Jansenism; and he reconstructs, with authority and clarity, the place of Jansenism in Italian historiography.

IL NUOVO GIURISDIZIONALISMO ITALIANO. CONTRIBUTO ALLA DOTTRINA DELLA QUALIFICAZIONE GIURIDICA DEI RAPPORTI FRA STATO E CHIESA. By *Pietro Gismondi,* Professore di Diritto Ecclesiastico nella Università di Macerata. (Milano, Dott. A. Giuffrè, 1946, pp. 239, 250 l.) This lucid and discriminating work broadens our understanding of the intricate problems connected with the relations between church and state in Italy, particularly with reference to the famous Law of Papal Guarantees. The author does not treat these subjects from a historical-political, dogmatic, or theoretical standpoint but rather from a historical-juridical standpoint. His close study of the historical sources (for example, the parliamentary debates on the Law of Papal Guarantees) enables him to offer a clear picture of the salient characteristics of the "new jurisdictionalism" in contradistinction to separatism and earlier forms of jurisdictionalism.

CARLO III E LA SICILIA. By *Gaetano Falzone.* (Palermo, G. B. Palumbo, 1947, pp. 85.)

ITALY. By *Elizabeth Wiskemann.* [The World Today.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. viii, 160, $1.75.) This is a readable, sympathetic, and, on the whole, well-informed and stimulating survey of modern Italian history before, during, and since the Fascist period. There are chapters on the character of the people, on intellectual life in pre-Fascist days, on the church, the state, and education, and on the "Second Risorgimento."

TRIESTE, STORIA DI UNA CITTÀ E DI UNA FEDE. By *Attilio Tamaro.* (Milano, Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1946, pp. 247.) This revised edition of a work originally published in 1930 traces the history of Trieste from Roman times to the First World War. The author, who has written extensively on this and closely related subjects (for example, *Storia di Trieste,* 2 vols., Rome, 1924), clearly addresses himself in this book to the general reader rather than to the scholar. Despite his protestations that his book

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is neither propaganda nor polemic, his treatment of certain controversial issues, particularly those involving the Slavs, is decidedly propagandistic and polemical in a pro-Italian and anti-Slav sense. Nevertheless, the book brings together much useful and suggestive material.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

RUSSIA AND EUROPE, 1789–1825. By *Andrei A. Lobanov-Rostovsky,* Professor of History, University of Michigan. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1947, pp. xviii, 448, $5.00.) This book does not pretend to be based on original research or on any new line of analysis or investigation. It is an *"oeuvre de vulgarisation,"* intended to convey within the compass of a single volume the results of the researches of others on the subject. Such books can be of the greatest value. They can give to a large audience the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the changes in the body of ascertained fact and in the attitude of scholars towards such changes. They can stimulate students to read more widely in the subject and give them the necessary foundation for appreciating more recondite works. But if they are to perform this function, the author must himself have mastered the secondary authorities and be able to present their conclusions in due perspective. Unfortunately the author of this book has not done so. The early period is the more useful part of the book. The author has summarized and made into a smooth narrative a good many well-known secondary sources such as the works of Sorel and Vandal. His account of Suvorov is largely derived from Professor Blease's book. He has used the memoirs of Caulaincourt, and has also occasionally referred to the documents printed by the Russian Imperial Historical Society. The narrative of the military history is a clear presentation of the story as told by one or two witnesses. Perhaps more could not be expected. It is surprising, however, that Professor Tarle's works are not mentioned. The Russian sources used are indeed almost all works published a long time ago. The account of Alexander's career, after 1812, is not at all satisfactory. Of the books used some are ephemeral publications, while some of the most important secondary sources are ignored. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that there are mistakes as to the facts, some of which show that the author does not appreciate the problems he is endeavoring to explain. Thus, for example, it is not true that agreement at the Congress of Vienna on the territorial problems was due to the return of Napoleon, as is implied on page 350, or that George Canning was present at the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle (p. 372). And in other cases, owing to reliance on inferior writers, quite misleading accounts are given of important episodes. A good deal of material has been printed from the Russian archives on the period 1815–1822. This was because Franco-Russian relations during this period were close and it was, therefore, thought useful to print it after a Franco-Russian alliance had been made. But by relying on this material too exclusively and neglecting much evidence on the same period which has since appeared, the author gives a misleading account of Alexander's policy. Nor is it true that the tsar had the design of obtaining Port Mahon from Spain. The book is written in a smooth and easy style and its object is a good one. It is a great pity that it has been so imperfectly carried out. CHARLES K. WEBSTER, *University of London*

"I WANT TO BE LIKE STALIN": FROM THE RUSSIAN TEXT ON PEDAGOGY BY B. P. YESIPOV AND N. K. GONCHAROV. Translated by *George S. Counts* and *Nucia P. Lodge.* With an Introduction by George S. Counts. (New York, John Day, 1947, pp. 149, $2.00.) The above title needs to be supplemented by the statement on the dust jacket that it is "an authoritative statement of the principles of education in Communist morality from the approved textbook used in teacher training in Soviet Russia . . ." It is not history. It is history in the making and the prospect it opens for

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the future is a terrifying one. In it good pedagogy and bad are applied remorselessly to the creation of a generation of supernationalists with closed minds. And woe to the teacher from kindergarten to college who opens a peephole in the iron curtain thus dropped between the minds of young Russia and the world beyond its borders. Such a ritual for a new religion and its saints is both portent and prophecy that should be studied as carefully outside the Soviet world as it will be within it. G.S.F.

FEDERALISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. By *Rudolf Schlesinger.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. x, 533, $6.00.) Here is a scholarly and valuable analysis of the conditions necessary for successful federalism. These conditions are deduced on the basis of a comprehensive survey of the history of federalism in modern Germany, the Soviet Union, the Habsburg Empire and two of the succession states. The author concludes that federation is feasible only where there is agreement regarding the essential features of the social order. Where such agreement is lacking, as in the case of the Weimar Republic, the federal constitution is exploited and deformed by the contending political forces. Where agreement exists, as in the case of the Soviet Union, federalism functions successfully. It is in this field of Soviet federalism that the author makes his chief contribution. As the author of *Soviet Legal Theory,* he is familiar with the source material and defines realistically the limits of Soviet federalism. Due account is taken of the role of the Communist party and of the compulsory allegiance of the constituent republics to the socio-economic system regarded as the foundation of the constitution. Concerning the post-1919 Danubian federation plans, the author states that these plans were doomed to failure because of the centrifugal influences of the neighboring Great Powers and the incompatibility of democratic republics and monarchical military dictatorships. This analysis is particularly interesting in the light of the current relations amongst the Danubian countries. L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

TITO'S IMPERIAL COMMUNISM. By *R. H. Markham.* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. xxii, 292, $4.00.) This volume on Yugoslavia is disappointing. The author has lived in the Balkans for decades, speaks the south Slavic languages, and knows many of the local political leaders; yet his book probably will be remembered more as an example of the passions aroused by the social upheavals of World War II than as a guide to contemporary Yugoslavia. As the title suggests, the villain of the book is Tito, and the heroes are his opponents, King Peter, Mikhailovich, and Machek. This is apparent from beginning to end in the selection and presentation of material. The author paints an almost idyllic picture of peasant life in prewar Yugoslavia. He assures the reader that he is "not attempting to praise but to describe the Serbian social system." As proof he reveals the "faults" of the Serbians. These turn out to be brandy drinking, garlic eating, fleas, and "B.O."! Not a word about the basic social and economic ailments which had rendered a tragically large percentage of the village population superfluous and wasted. Markham's Yugoslavia bears little resemblance to the country described by Hugh Seton-Watson in his *Eastern Europe between the Wars.* The reason for this rose-colored view becomes evident later when the author asserts that Mikhailovich was the first to organize resistance against the Axis and that the later appearance of the revolutionary Partisans was unnecessary and antinational in view of the satisfactory social structure of Yugoslavia. Similarly in describing the postwar regime, he states that the new federal structure is "based on falsehood" and is in reality "the most ruthlessly exacting centralized government in the history of that state." In the political sense this is true and de-

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serves emphasis. Yet the impression it leaves is misleading unless account also is taken of the cultural autonomy now enjoyed by the minority groups. It is conceivable that an Albanian peasant in Macedonia might be more impressed by the existence for the first time of Albanian schools and newspapers than alienated by the doctrines they serve to propagate. The author's purpose in writing this book is to combat the Tito regime which he considers a menace to world peace as well as to the Yugoslav people. But wishful thinking and emotional writing are not likely to serve this purpose. L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

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Near Eastern and Indian History

Sidney Glazer

CONSTITUTIONS, ELECTORAL LAWS, TREATIES OF STATES IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST. By *Helen Miller Davis*, Social Science Research Associate, American University of Beirut, Lebanon. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1947, pp. xix, 446, $5.00.) This volume comes as a timely material aid to the task of developing a working knowledge of the Middle East among American students of world affairs. It is made up into two parts: (1) constitutions and constitutional documents and (2) multilateral treaties and agreements, both applicable in various ways to the ten countries embraced in the collection. The materials cited have been drawn from numerous sources and vary considerably in specific gravity, some being little more than pious resolutions containing broad assertions of good intent, others being serious engagements resulting from and applicable to specific crises in national life or intended to be more or less permanent frames of government. All of these, at all events, are presented as illustrative of recent political processes and political ideals in the Middle East. Their value to the student lies principally in the extent to which they do throw light on the contemporary aims and ideals of the states represented, since in a number of respects the collection is neither complete nor up to date. While some of the documents are readily available elsewhere more of them are not and the book consequently has considerable value for reference purposes. The reviewer believes that the collection would have served its purpose to better advantage—particularly to a student of history—if the compiler had provided explanatory or editorial comment on the materials

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set forth in this series. Except for a brief and general introductory note to the volume as a whole, the reader is left in ignorance as to the circumstances under which these documents came into existence and why some are and others are not given *in extenso,* and he is left to determine on the basis of studies elsewhere what relative significance to attach to each. The volume thus is an assemblage of reference materials rather than a book possessing any clear unity—an opinion reinforced by the lack of an index. These remarks ought not convey the impression that this is a casual piece of work. On the contrary, it has required unusual patience and devotion to locate official texts of many of the documents here presented and to make certain of their proper translation into English (some are left in the original French). One's admiration of the compiler's effort in setting forth some of the long and uninteresting documents dealt with grows as he considers that a good many of them—electoral laws and detailed constitutional and legal procedures—probably never were expected by their creators to be observed very literally or very long. Nevertheless, they do illustrate early evolutionary processes in the rise of nations in the Moslem world and hence, however tedious, are illuminating and useful. HALFORD L. HOSKINS, *School of Advanced International Studies*

LANDS OF THE CROSS AND CRESCENT: ASPECTS OF MIDDLE EASTERN AND OCCIDENTAL AFFAIRS. By *Cyrus H. Gordon.* (Ventnor, N. J., Ventnor Publishers, 1948, pp. 267, $3.75.) In this book, the author has compiled bits of information of a historical, social, and personal nature which he has acquired as a student in Europe, as an archaeologist and army officer in the Middle East and as a teacher in the United States. The book falls into two parts, Part I covering the Middle Eastern states of the Arab League, Palestine, Iran and Turkey. Part II deals mostly with his experiences and observations in western Europe and Sweden. The book closes with a chapter on the United States. In Part I, Dr. Gordon attempts to present a thumbnail sketch, past, present, and future, of each of the states above enumerated. In a series of staccato sentences, he states a few facts about their area, history, peoples, politics, religion, and economy, interspersed with some stories of his experiences which illustrate local customs. He has so condensed his material that he omits any qualifying clauses to his statements, *i.e.,* "Russia blocked admission of Transjordan to the United Nations because its independence is not genuine" (p. 45). Yet at the time "Russia" was fostering the candidacy of Albania and Outer Mongolia. On Palestine he leans toward the emphases usually employed by Zionists, but he offers no plan other than Jewish Arab friendship as a solution. Naturally if one is to write about the geology, prehistory and history, literature, ethnic groups, political parties and problems, languages, education, agriculture, religious communities, military forces, and international involvements of Palestine in twenty-two pages, something must be left out. Part II is a mixture of facts culled from the classics woven into the impressions of the author on such subjects as anti-Semitism, the war, political and cultural patterns, European women and sex morals, Swedish universities (everything about Sweden is superlatively good), and political stability. His observations on the United States include subjects such as the status of women, Negroes, thievery and dishonesty, the evils of Prohibition and a lengthy attack on United States education. He feels we ought to emulate the Swedes. The book is too brief and uncritical for the scholar, too diffuse for the layman. It would appear that he compounded his knowledge into a series of capsule studies, loaded them into a blunderbuss, and blazed away at the public in general with the hopes that some of them might land on the target. Dr. Gordon is more informative and convincing when he limits himself to

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the habits of the gods and goddesses of the city of Ugarit. E. M. WRIGHT, *Washington, D. C.*

INTRODUCTION TO IRAN. By *Elgin Groseclose.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. vii, 257, $3.50.) Mr. Groseclose writes with evident sympathy and affection for the Iranians, even when he views them most critically. But his book can be considered an effective introduction only to certain selected aspects of their country, notably the economic. Iran's history, religion, and people are inadequately and, occasionally, inaccurately dealt with. Although there are, for example, many references to the Sassanian and Safavid periods of Iranian history, nowhere are they systematically treated, with the result that the average reader will remain unaware of their significance. On the other hand, an excessive amount of attention has been paid to Zoroastrianism and its impact on the Iranians exaggerated. Many details, although interesting in themselves, are out of place in a small book. These and other defects of organization and proportion as well as the unfortunate and inexplicable absence of a map seriously impair its value. Mr. Groseclose is by avocation a novelist, by profession an economist, and he demonstrates here both talents, the former by his smooth, readable style and eye for colorful detail, the latter by the careful and extended treatment of the economic reforms and monetary revolution set in motion by the late Reza Shah. Mr. Groseclose went to Iran in 1943 as a member of the second Millspaugh mission. He thus had an excellent opportunity to gain an insider's view of the country's financial structure and his analysis of it is the most useful contribution of the book. The last part entitled "Iran Today" contains interesting sections on the state of Iran's agriculture, the carpet industry, and the opium question. A curious omission is adequate treatment of the trade union movement in Iran and the part played by *Tudeh,* the Iranian Communist party. The recent successful strikes, particularly those of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's 50,000 workers in July, 1946, are portentous not only for the inner development of Iran, but for the Middle East in general. *Tudeh* is temporarily in eclipse, but the power it generated is still omnipresent. The growth of this party, next to Reza Shah's accession to the throne, is the most important event in modern Iranian history.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

THE SPIRIT OF CHINESE CULTURE. By *Francis C. M. Wei.* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. xii, 186, $2.75.) This short book consists of a series of six lectures delivered in 1946 in several American theological schools by a leading Chinese Christian educator and scholar. The lectures were intended to serve as an introduction to those aspects of Chinese culture which Dr. Wei believes must be understood by the foreign missionary or Chinese Christian evangelist who would carry Chris-

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tianity to the people of China. Of particular interest to the historian are: (1) Two lectures on the history and philosophy of Confucianism—"the culture of the Chinese people." Dr. Wei feels that although Taoist philosophy has greatly influenced the Chinese it has done so only through Confucianism. (2) One lecture on the influence of Buddhism on Chinese culture. Dr. Wei tends to minimize the importance in China of this alien religious and philosophical system. (3) One lecture on the religion of Taoism. Although the author also briefly considers ancestor worship and religious cults peculiar to particular localities, he declares that "for eighteen hundred years [the Taoist religion] has been the most widespread religious influence among the Chinese." In the final chapter Dr. Wei outlines the manner in which he feels Christianity should be interpreted to the Chinese, "what in the Chinese cultural heritage will serve as the best points of contact and where emphasis may be placed." He feels "sure of one thing, and that is, if Christianity is to take root in China, it must assume a Chinese form, congenial to the Chinese cultural heritage." KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF, *Cornell University*

TIDES FROM THE WEST: A CHINESE AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *Chiang Monlin.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947, pp. vi, 282, $3.50.) *Tides from the West* is perhaps more rightly "an autobiography of Chiang Monlin." Thus it has neither bibliography nor notes. It makes no pretense of authority nor of scientific precision. The objective of the book is not to consider historical facts with deadening accuracy. It is rather the life story of a man, now old, whose lifespan covered the most interesting and vital period in the history of China. Looking back, he draws on his memories. Misquoting a poem (p. 93) that lingers in his mind, he nevertheless leaves the impression with the reader that he has achieved his end, and the unimportant lack of accuracy is overwhelmed by the part played by this song and by other Western influences in the molding of his character. The style is fascinating. Written in a flowing English, it retains an oriental flavor. It abounds in similes and nimble phraseology. "The frogs echoed with their ungainly chorus." "Superstition grows out of the credulity of simple folk—it rolls like a snowball, growing as it rolls along." With vivid style, the author ably carries China through the latter part of the Manchu reign, over the revolutionary hurdle, through the period of the war lords and into the present. *Tides from the West* brings to the Westerner in facile style the Chinese view of the metamorphosis of China and of the Chinese people. PERCY BUCHANAN, *University of Colorado*

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

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ESSAYS ON HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *James C. Malin*. (Lawrence, Kansas, author, 1946, pp. v, 188, $2.50.) The four essays that comprise this book are well supported

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by bibliographies; these will yield much comfort for the readers who follow. The essays themselves are meaty, and abound with new information, original insights, fresh critical observations. Professor Malin invariably approaches his data, and the problems that his data raise, with an independent vision, and almost as frequently rewards his readers with liberal measures of novel conclusions. He treads the untrodden paths with courage and sureness. The opening essay in the series, "The Turner-Mackinder Space Concept of History," provides a many-sided critique of some of the historical ideas of F. J. Turner. It should be pondered by all who are concerned with the present status of the Turner problem. The second essay, "N. S. Shaler on the Frontier Concept and the Grassland," is a piece of writing that will impel more than one student to hunt up Shaler's writings and read widely among them. This is an unusually stimulating piece, both for its data and for the author's comments and critical observations. And Professor Malin is quite right in thinking that a biography of Shaler and his ideas is needed. The essay takes up Shaler's ideas on American forest and grassland relationships, his theories of American physiography, opinions on soil types and soil formation, ideas concerning "the westward movement," and so on. In "Science and Social Theory" he makes a plea that research and investigation in the social sciences shall be unhampered by outside influences. "Organized research in science or social science under any kind of control means an exercise of power that is a constant threat to freedom." Malin's warning is timely, reasonable. The final essay, "Certainty and History," contains enough ideas for a small book in itself. Its central concern is with the Beard "frame of reference" doctrine of incertitude in history. This important essay deserves a wide reading. Various points touched upon, or developed, in this volume, are given further treatment in a still later volume of essays, *The Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to Its History* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1947). In the volume under review Professor Malin has made praiseworthy contributions to the study of American historiography. FULMER MOOD, *University of California*

CHURCH AND STATE. By *Evarts B. Greene,* Late DeWitt Clinton Professor Emeritus of American History, Columbia University. (Indianapolis, National Foundation Press for National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, 1947, pp. vi, 48, $1.00.) This brief sketch by the late Evarts Greene touches points covered fully in his *Religion and the State.* No one could speak with more authority on the topic than the author and no one more helpfully about an age-old subject that has come sharply to the fore in our day.

A FREE CHURCH IN A FREE STATE—AMERICA'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION. By *Frank J. Klingberg,* Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles. (Indianapolis, National Foundation Press for National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, 1947, pp. vii, 66, $1.00.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON: CHAMPION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, ADVOCATE OF CHRISTIAN MORALS. By *Henry Wilder Foote.* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1947, pp. ix, 70, $1.25.) The question of Jefferson's religious beliefs is one that has tantalized layman and preacher alike since the first great onslaughts were made on his character and his religion in the presidential campaign of 1800. That the man who sponsored the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, the man who described the teachings of Jesus Christ as "a system of the most sublime morality which has ever fallen from the lips of man," should be considered an infidel seems grotesque. Un-

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fortunately, he had also observed that "in every country and in every age the priest has been hostile to liberty. . . . They have perverted the purest religion ever preached to man into mystery and jargon, unintelligible to all mankind." Thus, in certain circles, the question is still a moot one even today. The Reverend Henry Wilder Foote is the latest to take up the cudgels for Jefferson in a slim little book subtitled "An Inquiry into the Religion of the Third President." The book, which would have gained had the real essence of it been printed as an article, is a curious mixture. The first several chapters on Jefferson's background repeat the old fallacies of his ancestry and social position, the lack of education among the landed gentry, and do not seem a part of the whole. A section on Jefferson and the federal constitution has little relevance. Those chapters dealing with Jefferson's religious views, his reverence for Christ and His moral teachings, are excellent and contain some of Jefferson's most significant statements. That the last section is one of special pleading is unfortunate.

MARIE KIMBALL, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

MONROE'S DEFENSE OF JEFFERSON AND FRENEAU AGAINST HAMILTON. Edited by *Philip M. Marsh,* Miami University. (Oxford, Ohio, author, 1948, pp. 56, $1.50.) Mr. Marsh is well known for his extended studies of Philip Freneau, the journalist who supported Jefferson and had a minor position under him in the State Department. In this brochure he has brought together and edited with an introduction the letters directed at Jefferson by Hamilton and the defense in the press by Jefferson's friends, Monroe and Madison. It was a virulent *Federkrieg* that played its part in drawing the lines between two young national parties. From that standpoint and because historians usually give Hamilton the best of it in this exchange, Dr. Marsh's publication and analysis of the evidence is more than an addition to Jeffersoniana. He exonerates Jefferson while showing restraint in his comments on Hamilton. Interested students of the men and the period will need to reckon with Marsh's material and argument.

G.S.F.

THE ENDURING FEDERALIST. Edited and analyzed by *Charles A. Beard.* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1948, pp. xvi, 391, $4.00.)

AMERICANS FROM HOLLAND. By *Arnold Mulder.* [The Peoples of America Series, edited by Louis Adamic.] (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1947, pp. 320, $5.00.) The trained historian who reads this interesting and handsome book will inevitably be led to the conclusion that the author composed it for the general public and not for scholars. Both the documentation and the bibliography are woefully inadequate. In several cases references have been made in the footnotes to textbooks rather than suitable monographs or original sources. One important collection of printed documents is mentioned, however; and two quotations have been made from it. The first is to show that the Reformed pastors in Michigan during the decade from 1847 to 1857 frowned upon the practice of getting married again within three months of the death of one's former husband or wife. The second quotation refers to a pastor who was guilty of marital infidelity; he obviously had to be deposed. Such episodes may seem fascinating to certain readers, but they do not contribute much to our knowledge of the peculiar experiences of the Dutch settlers in North America. It is not surprising that the author's use of unreliable sources resulted in the reproduction of numerous errors. In the period from 1845 to 1850, so we are told (p. 113), the Dutch immigrants did not know where they wished to settle. Even Van Raalte's group, numbering only 53 at the most (instead of 110, as is well known), "stood

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poised for a time in New York," whereas their leaders had determined six months earlier exactly where they were to go. ALBERT HYMA, *University of Michigan*

THE NETHERLANDS AND AMERICA. By *Robert Benaway Brown.* A Clements Library Bulletin Prepared on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the City of Holland in Michigan. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1947, pp. 64.) This well-printed booklet lists and describes the rare pamphlets and volumes relating to the background and early course of Dutch settlement in America. It includes material printed for the Pilgrims from the press set up by Brewster in the Low Countries. Mr. Brown has written as an introduction an excellent brief sketch of Dutch history leading to the migrations that gave a Dutch flavor to New York and to sections of Michigan.

ALBERTUS C. VAN RAALTE AND HIS DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Albert Hyma.* (Grand Rapids, Mich., W. B. Eerdmans, 1947, pp. 277, $3.00.)

ITALIAN-AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Giovanni Ermenegildo Schiavo.* Volume I. (New York, Vigo Press, 1947, pp. 604, $10.00.) This stout volume is devoted chiefly to music and musicians, an area sown with Italian names, each one given a brief biographical sketch. About 125 pages give similar treatment to public officials of Italian birth or descent. The publication was subsidized by a few well-to-do Italian-American business firms. The compiler has shown great industry and the volume may be useful later as a contribution to a work which will justify the title given this volume.

THE AMERICAN ILIAD: THE EPIC STORY OF THE CIVIL WAR AS NARRATED BY EYEWITNESSES AND CONTEMPORARIES. By *Otto Eisenschiml* and *Ralph Newman.* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1947, pp. 720, $5.00.) This 720-page compendium about "the Late Unpleasantness" from Sumter to Appomattox is, in the large, another fruit of Chicago's Civil War Round Table. This is one of the most earnest, battling group of experts, scholars, poets, prophets, and businessmen, and its members delve and debate *ad infinitum* the smallest detail and the largest implication of what still is the most fascinating of America's wars. In particular, however, the opus attests the selecting skill of two Round Tablers who are armed with researched (and sometimes hunched) knowledge of the battles and campaigns of the American Civil War. Chemist Eisenschiml knows the myths about Lincoln, Stanton, and the assassinations like nobody's business, to say nothing of his mental map of Shiloh's terrain, one that can trap the unwary. Bookman Newman knows the war literature backward and forward, and the two have done a capital job in selecting eyewitness stories. The book is full of material drawn from original participant-and-spectator sources rather than the more familiar one of recollections written years after, when the sharp edge of memory had dulled. Privates, noncoms, shave-tails, aides, and generals kept journals, wrote letters, tried to show what they did to win the war, or to exculpate some blunder they never could erase. These first-hand personal accounts afford rich human material for the selectors. Each of the twenty chapters stems out of a major battle or campaign, and in each case the Eisenschiml-Newman team has drawn upon about the same amount of material from common soldiers and commanders of the Blue and the Gray. The outcome is almost a continued story of the day-to-day struggle, with the emphasis clearly placed

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on the two elements that interest us most today: the way commanders lost, recovered, or won battles through logic, luck, or sheer nerve; the soldiers' fright, courage, boredom, or excitement, the treatment they had in hospitals, the way surgeons shuddered as they sawed off arms and legs. In the pages, one has glimpses aplenty of the storied great: Grant, "Uncle Billy" Sherman, Little Mac who almost took Richmond, Meade, and Secretary Welles, or "Father Gideon" as he was familiarly known. On the Confederate side we get verbal vignettes of Davis, blundersome Bragg, Beauregard, Longstreet, and the highly competent, contentious Joe Johnston. We see also a little girl just before Gettysburg waving an American flag at the Johnny Rebs, and then, confused by their courtesy, saying she wished she had a rebel flag to wave too. Then there is the apt remark of a Confederate sergeant under siege in Vicksburg that "mule flesh is coarse-grained and darker than beef, but really delicious." Copious illustrations and maps intersperse the text. The total effect is amply rewarding to Civil War devotees, and should also be useful to the general reader. It is a good performance. GEORGE FORT MILTON, *Buffalo, New York*

GALLANT REBEL: THE FABULOUS CRUISE OF THE C.S.S. *SHENANDOAH*. By *Stanley F. Horn*. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1947, pp. viii, 292, $2.75.) Since the days of Daniel Defoe, the fiction writers have developed certain formulas, certain rules, and certain techniques which, if followed, produce a more or less sure-fire story. Clio, the muse of history, is a rotten novelist. She usually ignores these fixed formulas. Right when a strong romance interest is needed to keep the story going, Clio is likely to provide no actual participant who is more feminine than an Indian scout or a boatswain's mate. When a stirring climax is required, Clio usually comes through with a very dry ten-page, official report. This situation is the despair of all good story tellers who consider honest history a literary vehicle for pure entertainment. Most good story tellers have long since found refuge in the tested techniques of the historical novelist. A few brave souls, like Mr. Horn, continue to thumb through the pages of history, looking for another perfect tale such as Benedict Arnold's treason, the Dreyfus Affair, or the Bounty Mutineers. These are among the few natural novel plots the indifferent Clio has given us. Apparently Stanley Horn thought he had found another when he stumbled upon the cruise of the one and only Confederate warship to circumnavigate the globe—the C.S.S. *Shenandoah*. What makes the *Shenandoah's* story all the more alluring is its touch of almost modern piracy. Months after the war was over, the *Shenandoah* and her crew of adventurers were enthusiastically capturing and burning Federal whaling ships in the North Pacific. When they finally got the peace news, they dodged the piracy charge by means of a 17,000-mile ghost-run to safety in Liverpool Harbor, dropping anchor and making the last Confederate surrender, to the British, a good seven months after Lee had surrendered at Appomattox. Mr. Horn tells the story exclusively for its entertainment value. He makes it as interesting as facts permit. He has no historical significance or special interpretation attached to the voyage. He unveils no new angle, no thesis. He integrates the narrative with but little that happened before, during, or after the voyage. He often attributes emotions and conversations to the captain and the crew which cannot be documented but which are in character. Furthermore, in the interest of smooth reading and a good story, Mr. Horn freed himself of the usual exhaustive bibliography, citations, and index which commonly go with book-length research on such a limited subject. Mr. Horn would have been better advised, in my opinion, had he openly embraced the techniques of the historical novelist and allowed himself all the liberties they enjoy. He could have thus

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achieved a better story, his primary objective. As the book now stands, it leaves one feeling Clio should have done better by Mr. Horn in his search for a good story, or Mr. Horn should have done better by Clio in her modern requirements relative to meticulous authenticity. JIM DAN HILL, *State Teachers College, Superior, Wisconsin*

TOUCHED WITH FIRE: CIVIL WAR LETTERS AND DIARY OF OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., 1861–1864. Edited by *Mark De Wolfe Howe*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946, pp. x, 158, $3.00.) Neither students of the legal philosophy of Justice Holmes nor seekers for military details of Civil War campaigns will profit greatly from reading the home letters and sketchy diary of Lieutenant, later Captain, Holmes from 1861 to 1864. Mr. Howe's able editing identifies names and places, but the editor carefully abstains from claiming more for the letters than they contain. They begin with young Holmes's assertion, after a week in the army and while still in Boston, that he had "got to enjoying the life much." They end three years later when Holmes's regiment was mustered out and the captain—apparently after some argument with his father ("I started in this thing a boy. I am now a man")—feeling his duty had "changed," refused to accept promotion and a new assignment. In between, unfortunately, there is no discussion of this evolving war-weariness. Instead, the matters mentioned are mostly trivial, and reveal, as the editor suggests, that the Civil War meant more to Holmes in retrospect than it did in action. WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

THE CIVIL WAR DIARY OF GENERAL JOSIAH GORGAS. Edited by *Frank E. Vandiver*. (University, Ala., University of Alabama Press, 1947, pp. xi, 208, $3.00.) At first reading *The Civil War Diary of General Josiah Gorgas* is disappointing. It is not a continuous journal and the bulk of its notations is concerned with reports of battles and military movements from secondhand sources, much of which are inaccurate. The editor has corrected some of these palpable errors and has identified many of the personalities mentioned. The most disappointing aspect of the diary is that it contains little information (perhaps on account of military security reasons) of the marvelous work of the Confederate Ordnance Bureau under the direction of this very able officer. A careful perusal of this diary, however, reveals some nuggets of information about the Confederacy hidden beneath the boring details of battles. Particularly interesting are its penetrating comments on the civilian and military personalities of the Civil War, perhaps the chief contribution of this journal. The diary is written in a detached and matter-of-fact style. In its pages are found glimpses of flagrant profiteering in the Confederacy, which some future investigator may more fully uncover. With cold realism Gorgas describes the city of Richmond living under the stress of war, the amusements of the citizens, the frantic efforts to mobilize the civilian population frightened by the rumors of the approach of the enemy, and the pinch of inflation. Valuable bits of information are given about the operation of blockade-runners, the building of curious cigar-shaped torpedo boats, and the location of arsenals and foundries. One gets the impression from reading the journal that there was great mismanagement displayed in the conduct of the commissary and navy departments of the Confederate government and in the handling of transportation and finances. Despite the gloom caused by the disasters of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, this native of Pennsylvania in Confederate service retained a buoyant faith in the eventual victory of the Confederacy. Nevertheless, he expressed sober judgments concerning the serious military mistakes of the Confederacy, such as the neglect of the western sector of the battle front, the failure to concentrate troops against Sherman in Geor-

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gia, and the reluctance to use Negroes as soldiers. The journal is well edited in a factual sense, but the notes contain few critical comments. CLEMENT EATON, *University of Kentucky*

THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF SERGEANT ONLEY ANDRUS. Edited by *Fred Albert Shannon*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXVIII, Number 4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1947, pp. 147, cloth $2.50, paper $1.50.) This volume is a collection of sixty-one letters of Sergeant Onley Andrus, written between September 3, 1862, and May 22, 1865, mostly to his wife, Mary Andrus. The letters are listed by the editor chronologically under topics in seven sections. Each of the sections has several introductory pages by the editor based on the letters but expanded into an informative historical statement. Careful editing of these Civil War letters has been done by the editor and identification has been made as far as possible of all the persons and events mentioned by Andrus. The letters of this intelligent young man, who was twenty-seven years of age when he entered the Army, bare exactly his thoughts as he wrote, thus making his letters valuable as a study of soldiers' thinking in the face of conditions in the war years. This is their chief contribution, for little of history is added by the letters. The index is of unusual thoroughness in its detail. These three plates add value to the book: "Map of Movements of Onley Andrus's Regiment," with the movements listed in detail on the opposite page; "Letters of Onley Andrus to Family and Friends"; and "Letter of Onley Andrus to Mary." The letters are written in good hand and show carefulness in their preparation. WILLIAM H. ELLISON, *University of California, Santa Barbara College*

THE DIARY OF JAMES T. AYERS, CIVIL WAR RECRUITER. Edited with an Introduction by *John Hope Franklin*. [Occasional Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, Jay Monaghan, General Editor.] (Springfield, the Society, 1947, pp. xxv, 138.) Ayers was an elderly, semiliterate local Methodist preacher from Illinois, who was long on harangue but short on his fancied gift as a poet. By lying about his age he escaped his second wife and got into the Union army late in 1862, where for a time he was utilized as a recruiter of Alabama Negroes. The diary contains only a few scattered paragraphs on recruiting. It is far better as an illustration of the cultural level of western lay preachers. A county history says that Ayers possessed "fine talents, was fairly educated and a natural orator," but the one oration in the diary is a mass of illiterate ravings (pp. 7–19). When one reads the remarkable account of sea horses (p. 72), he wonders also just how accurate Ayers was as a reporter. The Christian minister engaged in war solved the dilemma of his contradictory roles by interspersing his violent and sometimes rather vulgar diatribes against Southerners, officers, and Negroes with many and lengthy pious platitudes. The editor is perplexed on page 63 about a reference to "$75 dol. Bounty Warant for 160 Acres Land" and $238 in back pay. What was the bounty warrant? The answer seems simple. Place a comma after "Bounty" and Ayers is claiming three things: bounty, a homestead, and back pay. The $2 premium for recruiting, queried on the same page, is amply explained in the *Official Records*. In general the diary is well edited and it makes an attractive-looking book. It would be no less useful if somebody had eliminated all the material Ayers copied and pasted into the old ledger which had served as a scrapbook before it became a diary. Few persons will profit from reading a poorly copied version of "Just before the Battle Mother" and the rest of the appendix material. FRED A. SHANNON, *University of Illinois*

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AMERICAN PAINTING: FIRST FLOWERS OF OUR WILDERNESS. By *James Thomas Flexner.* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1947, pp. xxii, 368, $10.00.) The purpose of this book is to show the relationship between American life and the long tradition of its painting. As one of a projected series the present volume is concerned specifically with the painting of the colonial period, those "exciting years during which a few wilderness clearings grew to the strength and self-consciousness that made a war of independence inevitable." Treating the pre-Revolutionary period as a fairly self-contained unit and with full consciousness of the ever-present European background, the author sketches the colorful pageant of the New England tradition from the primitive beginnings among its nameless pioneers to the dissipation of their vitality under the new-found wealth and self-consciousness of the late seventeenth century and finally to the great achievements of Smibert, Feke, and Copley. Rival traditions, so important to the understanding of American political history, are discussed in separate chapters on the realistic art of the Dutch patroon painters in New York and the imported arts of the aristocratic South. Where one might expect an artistic flowering under the favorable conditions of plantation culture, the records reveal—at least according to the present state of our knowledge—a complete barrenness of anything resembling an indigenous form of artistic expression. The remarkable and singular American story of Benjamin West dramatizes the transition from colonial naïvete to a confident maturity among the nations of the world. Among the colonial artists of America, John Singleton Copley, "Boston's solitary genius," as the author calls him, is awarded the major honor as "one of the most important figures in all our cultural history—the first to express American life in art naturally, profoundly and with beauty." Even the other arts—literature, music, sculpture, or architecture—produced no one of comparable stature. That Copley was a good artist, no one would deny, but that he outranks all others in every field is certainly open to question. From a literary point of view generalities of this type can be extremely valuable in pointing up certain principles and convictions about which the author feels very strongly, but they should not be allowed to obscure the real virtues of his achievement. This book proves again that good scholarship and readability are not incompatible. The bibliographical and historical notes in the appendix are as fascinating as the text itself and, in this reviewer's opinion, could well have been incorporated into the major story. The author has used sources and the dependable scholars. He presents an over-all view without losing us in the archives of minutiae and reveals with startling clarity those areas where the basic research has yet to be done. Above all, Mr. Flexner demonstrates again the fact that the study of art is no "science" that is sufficient unto itself and that can be abstracted from its historical setting or continuity. For the much needed understanding of American cultural history this is indeed a welcome contribution. LAURENCE SCHMECKEBIER, *Cleveland School of Art*

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO: AMERICAN WRITING OF 1847. Edited by *James Playsted Wood.* [The Centenary Series in American Literature.] (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1947, pp. xxiv, 518, $5.00.)

BASEBALL: A HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE GAME, THE MEN WHO HAVE PLAYED IT, AND ITS PLACE IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *Robert Smith.* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1947, pp. xiv, 362, $3.50.) This is a chatty, gossipy book, padded with irrelevant material. There is a wealth of colorful information about baseball players, rather less about the history of the game, and still less about

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its institutional development and its place in American life. The treatment is episodic, and the chronology is faulty. It is frequently impossible to identify players and important changes in the game by dates. Most of the events narrated by Mr. Smith repose in the conscious and the unconscious memories of fans who have recently celebrated their seventieth birthdays. Some of the old-timers will notice the absence of the names of famous players and will wonder on what basis selections were made. In his foreword the author explains that the players mentioned "are just those who for one reason or another have seemed worth writing about"; and the games included in his book are merely those he likes to think about or wishes he could have seen. The book begins with a reminiscent chapter portraying baseball as the "kids" played it at the time of the author's boyhood. This is followed by a chapter on the rudimentary beginnings of the game as it was played in the colonies. The author rejects the findings of a commission which was dignified by the membership of two United States senators, namely, that baseball is the brain child of Abner Doubleday. The major portion of the book records the achievements of famous players, evils and abuses of the game, changes in rules, syndicate and chain-store baseball, and the Black Sox scandal in the world series of 1919. The minor leagues are all but ignored, and the pages are almost bare of references to litigation pertaining to the reserve clause, which gave rise to the famous Lajoie case shortly after the organization of the American League and to the warfare waged by the Federal League against the major leagues. A number of other topics might well have been included, as, for example, the effect of "bigness" on the integrity and sportsmanship of players, clubs and leagues, and legislation pertaining to Sunday baseball. Mr. Smith has written an honest book. He does not pass over gambling and the liquor traffic in connection with the game. His concluding chapters sound a pessimistic note on the effects of wholesale attendance, chain-store, and night baseball. Neither does he spare greedy magnates who cheapen the game by moving in fences in order to convert easy outs into home runs and by employing has-beens who have taken up the profession of clowns. GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, *University of Minnesota*

MARK TWAIN IN NEVADA. By *Effie Mona Mack*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. xiv, 398, $5.00.) The merits of Dr. Mack's book are many. It is a very readable account of Nevada during its early years, both while part of Utah Territory, 1850–1861, and as a separate Nevada Territory, 1861–1864. It is at the same time the most detailed account we have of Twain in Nevada. Where Ivan Benson confined himself strictly to events in the western career of Twain, Dr. Mack has spread her work more widely, to give equal or greater emphasis to the background of local history and politics, a field in which she has already made her mark and with which neither Benson nor Payne was familiar. She has uncovered new material, often of first-rate importance. Despite undoubted accomplishments, Dr. Mack's book can be criticized, with all due respect, on several counts. Frankly following Carlyle, she holds that history is made by heroes, such as Senator Stewart and Twain. Hence statements made by either man are not always submitted to adequate criticism. Eliot Lord, a bureaucrat, accepted statements of Comstock senators uncritically in 1883, but a more critical attitude is expected of present-day historians. It is doubtful whether, with Orion's diary missing, Twain's account can ever be taken as factual without sound corroborating evidence. The literary fame of *Roughing It* is based upon Twain's gift for exaggeration, and even perversion, of fact. It is not proved that Lincoln's Nevada judges were corrupt. North was surveyor, not attorney general. Thurlow Weed, not Nye, was Seward's campaign manager in 1860, and Nye

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as governor did not control all territorial patronage. There was only one federal "enabling act" for Nevada statehood. Newspaper and manuscript materials in western libraries were not as exhaustively used as they might have been. It is because the book is likely long to be used by students of Twain as basic authority on his western years that a note of caution should be sounded. The book is highly readable, handsomely printed with numerous rare illustrations, and is well indexed. AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON, *University of Nevada*

AMERICAN SOCIETY AND THE CHANGING WORLD. By *C. H. Pegg, et al.* (2d ed.; New York, F. S. Crofts, 1947, pp. ix, 673, $4.00.)

YALE SCIENCE: THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS, 1701–1801. By *Louis W. McKeehan*. [Yale University School of Medicine, Historical Library, Publication No. 18.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1947, pp. ix, 82, $2.50.) This is a compact little book of less than one hundred pages. It is sufficiently long to accomplish its purpose, however; for, as might be expected, there was little interest in science at Yale before 1801. What there was, moreover, was individual rather than corporate. While still known as the Collegiate School of Connecticut it was fortunate to receive in 1714 a collection of books rich in recent scientific thought, and on at least two occasions experimental apparatus was purchased; but when a professorship of mathematics and natural history was established in 1770 it was given little financial support. This fact made the term of its first incumbent, Nathaniel Strong, a troubled, broken, and unproductive one, while the second, Josiah Meigs, according to the author, was too fiery an individual to get along with President Timothy Dwight; he was also, though the author does not mention it, too ardent a Jeffersonian. There were graduates and college officials, however, who, though theologians, had an intellectual curiosity that impelled them to inquire into the facts of the world without them. Utility-minded Jared Eliot of the class of 1706 and later a trustee and fellow, a keen observer and experimenter, studied possible improvements in farm practices and wrote a series of widely read pamphlets on the subject, helped to introduce silk culture into the colony, published an essay on how "to get very good if not the very best iron from black sea sand," and was interested in artificial magnets. His friend and former pupil, Samuel Johnson, whose interest in science was confined to reading and talking about it, did, nevertheless, as a tutor from 1716 to 1719, introduce considerable of it into the curriculum and perhaps stimulated almanac making. Thomas Clap, rector from 1740 to 1766, became a competent amateur astronomer, constructed a planetarium, and published a paper on meteors: and the learned Ezra Stiles, who became president in 1778, was an even more enthusiastic astronomer, had carried on experiments in electricity and chemistry, and, like Eliot, was interested in developing the silk industry. By these and some others, scientific interest at Yale was nurtured and the way prepared for the great development that came after the appointment of Benjamin Silliman as professor of chemistry and natural history in 1802. Biographical items and the author's style make a reading of the book easy and pleasant. HARRIS E. STARR, *New Haven, Connecticut*

THE EARLY WORK OF WILLARD GIBBS IN APPLIED MECHANICS, COMPRISING THE TEXT OF HIS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PH.D. THESIS AND ACCOUNTS OF HIS MECHANICAL INVENTIONS. Assembled by *Lynde Phelps Wheeler, Everett Oyler Waters,* and *Samuel William Dudley*. [Yale University School of Medicine, Historical Library, Publication No. 17.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1947, pp. vii, 78, $3.00.)

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PICTORIAL HISTORY OF PRINCETON. Edited by *Wheaton J. Lane.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947, pp. 197, $6.00.) The *Review* might be justified in calling a moratorium on notices and reviews of books about Princeton occasioned by its bicentennial. This volume is the last one I can think of, but Princeton is two hundred years old, very lively, and has an equally lively progeny in its alumni and university press. They may think up additional titles. None before or after will be more attractive than this volume of pictures from the university's past with explanatory text by Mr. Lane. Princetonians will hail it and buy it, and the alert historian of matters social, educational, and architectural will glean from it bits that fit into the total picture of American culture.

PRINCETON PORTRAITS. By *Donald Drew Egbert.* With the assistance of Diane Martindell Lee. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947, pp. vii, 360, plates, $15.00.) The above notice had scarcely been written when this new volume arrived. Some one had thought of the professors and presidents and trustees and alumni. True, they are not so photogenic as the tigers and portals of Old Nassau, but they do have something to do with making a university. Here they are from Belcher and Edwards and Witherspoon to McCosh and Wilson and Dodds. Here too are the great teachers and in the later days those who made Princeton a university by their researches. Why, one may ask, do some of them rate two or three or more pictures to the entire exclusion of others well worth recalling? The accompanying biographical sketches are adequate and in good taste. The Princeton University Press has made its not inconsiderable contribution by the press work in all these bicentenary volumes. The type, paper, and the 235 collotype illustrations in this volume are especially creditable. G.S.F.

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF MacMURRAY COLLEGE. By *Mary Watters,* Research Editor, Illinois State Historical Library. (Jacksonville, Ill., the college, 1947, pp. 652.) The writing of the histories of colleges and universities is often treated in the most casual manner, a subject best handled by the alumni secretary. There are notable exceptions supplied chiefly in recent years by the larger and older institutions. Here is a shining exception in the case of a small college, a women's college in Illinois that has just celebrated its hundredth birthday. To mark this noteworthy event the authorities of MacMurray College commissioned a trained historian, made the history department her collaborators, gave her time and a free hand. The result is a stout volume so competently done that it will never need to be done again. It is also a contribution to the social and cultural history of Illinois in the nineteenth century. Similar institutions could well imitate the procedure followed at MacMurray and count themselves fortunate if they find as competent a historian as Dr. Watters. G.S.F.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Broadus Mitchell,* Rutgers University, and *Louise Pearson Mitchell,* Mills School, Adelphi College. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1947, pp. xi, 928.) "Economic history," the authors of this new text book assert, "gives a means of understanding not only economic thought, but politics, law, literature, and even art. . . . It is the core of our culture." Declaring that there are no economic principles universally and eternally applicable, the authors propose (1) to tell the story of economic development, and (2) to present material for the analysis of economic forces. The authors find the clue to American economic development in the fortuitous and circumstantial rather than in the deliberate choice of alternatives.

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Thus American independence from England was the product of "commercial, cultural, and political differences between mother country and the colonies" (p. 173), grounded in such factors as the tradition of dissent, "the physical newness of . . . American life," and especially "the isolation of the colonists in the forests of America," the "fundamental fact" in the Revolutionary movement (p. 129). The analysis of the relation of slavery to the Civil War shows the difficulty of confining a moral issue within the presuppositions of economic determinism. The authors view the Civil War as a struggle to destroy slavery, in the precipitation of which men of principle like Garrison and Wilmot exerted crucial influence. They recognize the power of great social evils to tap a reservoir of principle which transcends "precise justice and which shuts eyes to historical excuses" (p. 516), thus tempering considerably their relativistic professions. They see clearly that the insecurity of the South in the presence of injustice prompted tyranny and made that section the more vulnerable to moral attack (p. 513). No judgment upon the validity of the New Deal's economic program is possible for the authors because the coming of the Second World War, to which they find the United States committed by executive acts of President Roosevelt long in advance of its formal involvement, saved the New Deal from the political consequences of the business recession. "War is so violent a trespasser upon social processes," state the authors, that the Seven Years' War disrupted the empire (p. 131), and the Second World War "temporarily put(s) an end to depression" (p. 888).

EDWARD A. WHITE, *Stanford University*

THE MARSHALL FIELDS: A STUDY IN WEALTH. By *John Tebbel.* (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1947, pp. 320, $3.75.) Mr. Tebbel's *The Marshall Fields* is a commonplace little book with some reader appeal but of slight interest to historians. It is an attempt in a single work to examine biographically Marshall Field I, creator of Marshall Field and Company, and Marshall Field III, grandson and living heir of the former's multimillion dollar fortune. As the preface announces, the author's wish is to inform the world "what their [the Fields'] contributions have been to American life, and what their philosophies, spanning more than a century in this nation's existence, have to say to us today." Before Mr. Tebbel had even begun to collect material for the book, he had obviously decided that the first Marshall Field had little to contribute; for he bothered not at all to do any research into the ample sources available on this man and the store which he built. The first half of the work, devoted to the great merchant's activities, is only a mildly interesting rehash of material from unreliable secondary sources and company promotional literature. Conclusions are based largely on hand-me-down anecdotes, most of which any competent researcher would have immediately rejected as plainly untrustworthy. When this abundant supply of legendary material failed to meet his needs, Mr. Tebbel brought into play an active imagination. Entire conversations, complete with quotation marks, were concocted from pure fantasy to fill gaps in the narrative and to embellish what might otherwise have been dull episodes. The discussion of Marshall Field III is no more objective, but Tebbel's sources are better from the simple fact that his subject is still living and seemingly on intimate terms with the writer. Marshall Field III might have written the last half of the book himself. It could not have coincided with his views more accurately and could not have been more of an autobiography of Field. From the historian's point of view, that is the book's major—and only—contribution; and the author could well have confined his efforts to that purpose. In these chapters Mr. Tebbel writes entertainingly; he likes Field and sympathizes with his ideas; and he obviously had access to the people who counted.

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To anyone interested in the wealthy Field's newspaper and charitable ventures, this portion of the book provides a fairly informative, if one-sided, summation of the story. ROBERT W. TWYMAN, *University of Minnesota*

WILLIAM RUFUS DAY: SUPREME COURT JUSTICE FROM OHIO. By *Joseph E. McLean,* Lecturer in Politics, Princeton University. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIV, Number 3.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1946, pp. 172, $2.00.) This study constitutes a useful addition to the growing list of monographs on the careers of members of the Supreme Court. In demonstrating that William R. Day, a "capable, middle-of-the-road" associate justice from 1903 to 1922, was considerably more than average in the influence he exerted upon the Court, Dr. McLean presents an evaluation of Day's relationship to the outstanding issues and decisions of two important decades in Supreme Court history. The appraisal of Day's individual response to the Court's problems is done with objectivity and incisiveness; Dr. McLean's classifications and concluding generalizations, however, are not so satisfactory. It is hardly acceptable to rate Day, one of the dissenters in *Lochner* v. *New York,* the author of a dissenting opinion in *Coppage* v. *Kansas,* and the Court's spokesman in *Green* v. *Frazier,* as a "middle-of-the-road" judge in the sense in which the author uses the term. Day's active record on the Court (439 majority and 18 dissenting opinions) is described in two chapters bearing the titles, "Strict Constructionist of National Powers," and "Liberal Constructionist of State Powers." The first of these titles is certainly short of accuracy: Dr. McLean's own account makes it clear that despite his authorship of the majority opinion in the fateful *Hammer* v. *Dagenhart* case, Day was generally friendly to the stretching of Congress' powers when the objective was to reach police power ends or to curb trusts. In the matter of evaluating the author's reliability in presenting factual data, a repeated mistake (pp. 55 and 56) in listing Justice Lurton as a Roosevelt appointee (with Roosevelt's comment on the appointment!) and an incorrect date for the appointment of Justice McReynolds, leave one with some misgivings. Occasionally there are unnecessary repetitions (*e.g.,* pp. 21, 64; 6, 60). Attention might have been given to the fact that as a student in the University of Michigan, Day lived for a time in the home of Judge Thomas M. Cooley. The monograph is chiefly important for the picture it gives of the work of the Supreme Court during the first two decades of the twentieth century; one may agree with Professor C. B. Swisher's foreword appraisal, that it "stands not merely as biography, but also as an account of an important stage of American constitutional history." L. G. VANDER VELDE, *University of Michigan*

THE LA FOLLETTES AND THE WISCONSIN IDEA. By *Edward N. Doan.* (New York, Rinehart, 1947, pp. 311, $4.00.) One does not read far in this account of the careers of the Robert La Follettes, father and son, without asking himself what office or offices they are running for now. The volume is in the best style of campaign biographies. It fails to give a balanced account of its subjects' strengths and weaknesses. Both deserve a more adequate treatment. We may expect that in the not too distant future in the case of the elder La Follette. His career is closed and the books are opened. That is not true of all minds who study him. It will take time to measure such a fighter objectively. That will be easier when he is viewed as governor than as senator facing problems to which the Wisconsin idea did not apply. The younger Robert is still available for public service. His greatest service so far is the act reorganizing Congress. It is ironical that Wisconsin's reward for this national service was to retire him. The Wisconsin idea takes curious forms. G.S.F.

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THE ROOSEVELT ERA. Edited by *Milton Crane.* With a Foreword by Jonathan Daniels. (New York, Boni and Gaer, 1947, pp. xiv, 626, $4.75.) To paraphrase slightly the title of the longest story in this anthology, here is a portrait of the intellectual as a New Dealer. Here is the liberal mind basking under the benign rays of the Roosevelt sun, warmed amidst the bleak economic wreckage of the depression by the hope of a better and more just American society. The excerpts, ranging from Thurman Arnold to Thurber, well delineate the facets of that mind. They probe into the relationship between ideology and economic position, as in Mary McCarthy's discerning "Portrait of the Intellectual as a Yale Man." They demand economic and social justice, as in the writings of Jonathan Daniels, Caldwell, Steinbeck, and others. They point the way to a better future through New Deal policies, in the analyses of the Lippmann of 1934, Lilienthal, and Wallace. They voice the earnest pacifism of the early thirties in Irwin Shaw's play, *Bury the Dead,* and the subsequent self-flagellation as war approached, in Archibald MacLeish's *The Irresponsibles.* The editor looks back with nostalgia upon the great days of federal writing, and has included some of the best that came out of the program: "Metropolis and Her Children," "Triple-A Plowed Under," and "The River." While many of the most effective pieces deal directly with New Deal thought, others of equal value present other aspects of the era through the same New Deal viewpoint. The *New Yorker* style and attitude of reporting set the tone of the book. Nearly a score of the excerpts first appeared in the magazine; five are "profiles"—of Henry Luce, George Gallup, Joseph Curran, George Fielding Eliot, and Harry Hopkins. The selections covering the war years are fewer, and the reader will note many a hiatus. But the same viewpoint continues as Willkie receives ample space, along with Margaret Mead and Marquand. Robert McLaughlin's startling "A Short Wait between Trains" marks a continued concern over race relations. Critics of Roosevelt and the New Deal have no voice in these pages. The only pieces Mr. Crane included as representative of the opposition are two amusing satires on the critics themselves. One of them, "The Cliché Expert Testifies as a Roosevelt Hater," is a classic. Like his opponents, Roosevelt himself remains a nebulous figure seen mainly through the eyes of his followers, until late in the book. There he emerges through the Teamsters' speech and a hortatory evaluation by Max Lerner, primarily as a politician and showman. In total these excerpts are exceedingly well written. Except for the jarring inclusion of Mencken's memoirs of Bryan and Smith, they well present the spirit as well as the ideology of the era. They are smoothly and fairly logically arranged in coherent fashion to provide an entertaining and valuable picture of the mind of the New Dealer. FRANK FREIDEL, *Pennsylvania State College*

NEW WEAPONS FOR AIR WARFARE: FIRE-CONTROL EQUIPMENT, PROXIMITY FUZES, AND GUIDED MISSILES. Edited by *Joseph C. Boyce,* Special Assistant to the Chairman, National Defense Research Committee, Professor of Physics, New York University. With a Foreword by Richard C. Tolman, Vice-Chairman, NDRC, Professor of Physical Chemistry and Mathematical Physics, California Institute of Technology. [Science in World War II, Office of Scientific Research and Development.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1947, pp. xviii, 292, $4.00.)

COMBAT SCIENTISTS. By *Lincoln R. Thiesmeyer* and *John E. Burchard.* Edited by *Alan T. Waterman.* Foreward by Karl T. Compton. [Science in World War II, Office of Scientific Research and Development.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1947, pp. xviii, 412, $5.00.) These two volumes continue the popular, unofficially official history of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, a series first introduced to the pub-

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lic by Dr. James Phinney Baxter in *Scientists against Time*. What is presented now is an expansion of various matters only briefly touched upon in the first volume of this series. *New Weapons for Air Warfare,* which describes the development of such devices as fire-control equipment, proximity fuzes, and guided missiles, is essentially an account of the activities of Section T of OSRD and Divisions 4, 5, and 7 of NDRC and of the men and institutions that labored in secret to assure the success of our arms. The various chapters, written in a lively style and with a minimum of technical terminology by a number of authors have been skillfully unified by Professor Joseph C. Boyce of New York University. The third volume in this series, on *Combat Scientists,* is an account of a group unique in the annals of warfare. It is in my opinion one of the more important volumes of this series and also one of the most important contributions to the history of World War II. It is by now a generally accepted truism that no war in history has been as dependent upon science and technology as this last one. But what is not generally known is the way in which men of science were used in the war. It was found very early in the combat that the work of the scientist did not and could not end in the laboratory and on the designing table with the delivery of some new explosives, incendiary bombs, insecticides, or electronic devices to the Army or Navy. The scientist had to follow his devices and procedures into the field and combat areas to see how his discoveries actually functioned and to instruct military and naval personnel in their operation. That is how he acquired the title "combat scientist." But he had another function as well. The enemy also was using scientists and technologists (the Allied powers had no monopoly on brains) and they too were frantically making newer and more terrible weapons. So teams like the famous "Alsos Mission" consisting of physicists, chemists, pharmacologists, and others were organized to penetrate with (sometimes ahead of) our invading armies to study enemy weapons, gather up laboratory records and other documents and capture and question enemy scientists to learn from them how far advanced they were on secret weapons. It was the Alsos team which discovered for example that Germany had made little progress in the development of an atomic bomb. Those who ponder on the shape of things to come and attempt, as all historians must, to learn lessons for the future will do well to take note of these and succeeding volumes. Wars may be made in chancelleries but the volumes on "Science in World War II" give a sobering preview on how a possible future war may be fought. MORRIS C. LEIKIND, *Washington, D. C.*

THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN. By *Dexter Perkins.* [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. xii, 253, $3.00.) Though the Caribbean nations are among the closest neighbors of the United States, they are usually far from the consciousness of its citizens. Every now and then for more than a century they have broken over into the front pages of the press with revolutions, filibustering, canal projects, defaults on loans, landings of U. S. Marines, or strategic problems as during the recent war, and then have retreated again to oblivion. If this country is to exercise wisely its unavoidable leadership, it must have something it has never had in the past, at least for very long—a consistent Caribbean policy, based on understanding of the needs and capacities of the peoples in question. In a short book the author provides a useful summary of the more important facts, interpreted with seasoned judgment. He surveys the varied characteristics of the inhabitants of the region, who differ so from one land to another that it is not easy to fit a single classification over them. The economic situation of each republic is summarized, from the relatively fortunate, like Costa Rica and

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Cuba, to those sunk deep in overpopulation and poverty, like Haiti. Their internal political histories are briefly told, as well as the history of their relations with the United States. The author's opinions are presented with such great care to avoid frightening nontechnical readers or offending sensibilities at home or abroad that the style is somewhat pedestrian. In a brief account of so large a subject there are bound to be deliberate omissions, yet it is unfortunate that so little attenton could be devoted to Puerto Rico or the British dependencies, where the two great powers have direct responsibility. But these are minor flaws in a book which rests on thorough knowledge of the subject and offers much common sense on implementation of the Good Neighbor policy and the vexed question of intervention (or its more polite substitutes) in behalf of "democracy." GEORGE SOULE, *New York City*

LETTER FROM GROSVENOR SQUARE: AN ACCOUNT OF A STEWARDSHIP. By *John Gilbert Winant.* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1947, pp. 279, $3.00.) To anyone who followed the public career of John Gilbert Winant this account of his first year as our ambassador to Great Britain adds to the sense of loss that followed the news of the tragic death of a truly great American. If at Geneva, Ottawa, and London they accepted him as a typical American, then each of us is obligated to live somewhat more like him. The modesty and devotion to public service that marked his career is revealed in this testament penned in the last months of his life. If ever there be criticism of John Winant it will die, not because he is dead but because this simply told story of a year of terrific strain reveals an integrity as solid as the granite of his native state. His stature, his homely ways, his human touch have suggested to many a likeness to Lincoln. The breadth and depth of understanding of peoples whether British or American revealed in this unpretentious book strengthens the suggestion. There are no great revelations in the book except the unconscious revelation of the man. To the British he was our best-beloved ambassador to St. James, and not a little of their affection sprang from their respect for his sturdy, unvaunting Americanism. To the memorial service for him in St. Paul's came the great and the little people of England, a tribute they had last paid in the sanctuary to the chieftain who had sent him in a critical hour in world history as his and our representative. Great crises do not always call forth great men. This time it did, and Winant adds to the names we know on the British roll, names we and they could easily forget. For the benefit of those still blinded by partisanship he anticipates history in his tribute to the labors that sent Harry Hopkins to an early death. It is to be hoped that some day an adequate biography of John Winant will lengthen this letter on one year in Grosvenor Square by an account of the other years and the years that preceded as governor of New Hampshire and as head of the International Labor Office. G.S.F.

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Volume VII, JULY 1944–JUNE 1945. Edited by *Leland M. Goodrich* and *Marie J. Carroll.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press for World Peace Foundation, 1947, pp. xxxvii, 961, $6.00.) The delay in the publication of Volume VII of *Documents on American Foreign Relations* until more than two years after the expiration of the period covered is explained in part by Mr. Goodrich's preoccupation with the San Francisco Conference and with the preparation, in collaboration with Dr. Edvard Hambro, of the special volume, *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents* (Boston, 1946). Preferring not to duplicate the material in the last-mentioned volume, the editors have omitted from Volume VII of *Documents* the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and the United Nations Charter, both of which would otherwise appear here. Various documents pertaining

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to the proposals and to the San Francisco Conference are, however, included. Omitted also are the Bretton Woods Agreements of July, 1944, which were, despite chronology, published in Volume VI of this series. Documents relating to the acceptance of those agreements appear in Volume VII. Notable among international conferences whose results appear in this volume were the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago, the Inter-American Conference at Mexico City, and the meeting at Yalta of Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin. As Volume VI recorded the surrender of Italy, Volume VII sets forth the armistice agreements with Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, the surrender of Germany, and the beginnings of military government in Germany. The plan of Volume VII departs only slightly from that of Volume VI. Conduct of foreign relations, defense and prosecution of the war, international peace and security, lend-lease, war crimes and their punishment, relief and rehabilitation, trade and finance, transportation and communications, agriculture and the use of natural resources, labor and social relations—these headings and subheadings suggest the wealth and variety of documentary material in this well-edited and useful volume, which covers virtually all angles of United States foreign relations, not omitting such domestic matters as the resignations of Secretaries of State and a re-reorganization of the State Department. The reorganization of January, 1944, was accomplished by an order that occupied forty pages of Volume VI. That of December, 1944, requires forty-five pages of Volume VII. Publication and sale of the series have been taken over by the Princeton University Press. The editors express the hope, which the many users of the *Documents* will endorse, that "publication of future volumes will be back on a normal peacetime schedule." JULIUS W. PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

A FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Quincy Wright.* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. x, 405, $4.50.) Time flies. When Secretary Marshall made his arguments for the European Recovery Program to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in January, he publicly identified the Soviet Union as a threat to world peace. During the Institute of July, 1946, whose lectures and discussions are presented in this volume, however, Cornelius W. de Kiewiet noted "our unwillingness to offend Russia directly." Greece in a year has become a shield of the United States, but the index does not mention Greece. So in one respect this collection of statements has a peculiar historic interest as the record of what some distinguished men thought about the contemporary problem at one milepost in the development of United States foreign policy. But it still has a contemporary value, chiefly in some worthy analyses and allusions and ideas here offered which the makers of policy continue to neglect, or the public continues to be vague about. Professor de Kiewiet's comments on the possibility of organizing a western European security system deserve study, and possibly expatiation elsewhere. A European Recovery Program in operation would provide partial foundation for it. Two years have not rid us of the lack of comprehension of the true nature of the relationship between the United States and Latin America which Allen Haden describes. Despite some lawmaking on the subject by Congress, the country has not yet come to any solid conclusions about the most useful kind of information and cultural relations policy the United States might seek, here considered by Kenneth Holland of the State Department. Our approach to the problems of the Far East, catalogued by Joseph W. Ballantine, remains uncertain. What is said on those matters in this book is still valid and still can assist us in the making of policy. That fact underscores the general usefulness of the practice of putting the Harris Foundation lectures between hard covers. But the lectures would have greater value if they were longer and more detailed. Americans gen-

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erally have a poverty-stricken knowledge about eastern Europe, the land between Germany and Russia, but the lecture by Alex Dragnich could touch only the high spots. The record of discussion after each lecture adds to knowledge, but the lecturer himself in every instance could make a greater contribution. The lectures consider United States foreign policy in segmentation without offering a separate discussion on the aims, purposes, and causations of foreign policy considered wholly from the point of view of this country's national interest. What are we after? The question isn't really dealt with here. BLAIR BOLLES, *Washington, D. C.*

THE UNITED STATES IN THE POSTWAR WORLD: ADDRESSES GIVEN AT THE 1945 SUMMER CONFERENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. Edited by *William B. Willcox* and *Robert B. Hall.* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1947, pp. xi, 302, cloth $4.00, paper $3.00.)

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

PROVINCE AND COURT RECORDS OF MAINE. Volume III, PROVINCE OF MAINE RECORDS, 1680–1692. Edited by *Robert E. Moody*, Professor of History, Boston University. (Portland, Maine Historical Society, 1947, pp. lvii, 330, $11.00.) The materials in this volume cover the years from the assumption by Massachusetts of control over Maine as a subordinate colony in 1680 to the full integration of the two regions into a single province under the charter of 1691. For something more than two years during this period Maine was a part of the larger dominion of New England. The records here printed consist of the transactions of the little general assembly and of the courts of sessions and of pleas. For the general student the court records have the greater interest. They illustrate well some of the characteristics and conditions of life on the frontier of Puritan New England. These were far from being a harmonious people; petty suits were common, and again and again the settlers brought complaints against each other of "contentious defamations" or the use of "squerulous languidg." Puritan influence in the attitude of the courts appears repeatedly in the presentments and convictions of individuals for cardplaying, for cursing and swearing, and for "breach of the Sabboth," either by failing to attend meeting, or by killing deer, performing "servile work," or sailing vessels out of harbor on the Lord's day. Students of legal history will note the marked increase in formality of the records during the Dudley and Andros period. For the first time appear such terms as *"scire facias,"* "pleas of the crown," and "grand inquest," and the notation in criminal charges that the offense was "contrary to the Peace of our Soveraign Lord the King." This formalism did not continue after Massachusetts resumed control. Professor Moody has provided helpful footnotes and a careful and detailed introduc-

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tion, in which he traces clearly the changes in jurisdictional control over Maine in this complicated period and sets forth the background of political and military events which took place on New England's northeastern frontier during the years covered by these records. LEONARD W. LABAREE, *Yale University*

FROM UTOPIA TO FLORENCE: THE STORY OF A TRANSCENDENTALIST COMMUNITY IN NORTHAMPTON, MASS., 1830–1852. By *Alice Eaton McBee.* [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXXII.] (Northampton, Smith College, 1947, pp. x, 77.) Miss McBee has added one more case study to the growing list of accounts of the utopian groups that lived for a few short years in early nineteenth century America. Some of them, such as Hopedale and Brook Farm, have been well known because of the fame or the articulateness of some of the members of the communities. The records of others less well known are slowly coming to light. This account of the community at or near Northampton, Massachusetts, is a welcome addition to the list and is the result of careful examination of all available materials. This utopian association has an added interest because of the connection, unusual in the annals of such communities, with a manufacturing enterprise as characteristic of the times as were the communitarian groups that were to some extent a protest against the effects of industrialization. The introduction of sericulture and the advance of silk manufacturing with which the settlement at Florence was associated both complicate and differentiate this experiment. Miss McBee notes many other aspects of the Northampton community—its connection with Transcendentalism, with the international peace movement, with abolitionism, with hydropathy, temperance, progressive education, and with many other reform movements of the period. With William Lloyd Garrison and Henry Wright as sponsors and Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, George Benson, and William Adam as members, surely the Northampton Association was as representative as was Hopedale of the religio-reformist-socialist groups of the day and second to Brook Farm only because of the absence of Ripley, Hawthorne, and other famous Transcendentalists. Florence lacked, too, the facile pens of Emerson and of Margaret Fuller and failed to make any attempt to initiate a complete Fourieristic system, but its history as a communitarian society is well worth recording, and the job has been well done by Miss McBee. ALICE FELT TYLER, *University of Minnesota*

THE MOTHER'S ROLE IN CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: NEW ENGLAND CONCEPTS, 1830–1860. By *Anne L. Kuhn.* [Yale Studies in Religious Education, XIX.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947, pp. x, 224, $3.00.) In the three decades preceding the Civil War the American people, more especially those of the Northeast, were experiencing the complex impact of growing urban-industrial conditions. In the process traditional family relationships were being shaken at the foundations. Fathers who were absorbed in the pursuit of wealth in business were abdicating their historical place as the active head of the family; and the schools were not yet ready to fill the role which would be assigned to them in a later age. In this dilemma the reformers devoted to human improvement and the traditionalists who deplored the decline of religion and family discipline agreed that the mothers must assume new responsibilities. This study is an exhaustive analysis of the flood of books and articles, romantic and didactic, which streamed out of New England in this period to urge upon women readers the recognition of their responsibility and to offer them advice as to its proper discharge. Among them were the *Mother's Assistant* and the *Ladies'* and the *Parents* magazines and the writings of—to list alphabetically only a few—

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Jacob Abbott, author of the Rollo stories, William A. Alcott, Catherine Beecher, Horace Bushnell, Lydia M. Child, "Fanny Fern," Orson S. Fowler, popularizer of phrenology, Samuel G. Goodrich of "Peter Parley's" textbooks, Sarah J. Hale of *Godey's,* Heman Humphrey of Amherst, Almira H. L. Phelps, Catherine M. Sedgwick, and Lydia H. Sigourney. No effort has been made to evaluate the effects of these writings, but their import is skillfully analyzed and summarized under classifications of religion and morals, intellect, health, and discipline. An excellent statement of conclusions and an essay on bibliography conveniently epitomizes the study as a whole. WOOD GRAY, *George Washington University*

AMIABLE AUTOCRAT: A BIOGRAPHY OF DR. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. By *Eleanor M. Tilton.* (New York, Henry Schuman, 1947, pp. xi, 470, $5.00.) One of several interesting aspects of Miss Tilton's *Amiable Autocrat* is the change revealed in biographical technique since the publication of John T. Morse's rather "official" *The Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes,* in two volumes, within two years after Holmes's death in 1894. Mr. Morse's book, bound in conventionally plain crimson, included a large amount of correspondence and was obviously a tribute of cousinly devotion. In 1944 came Mrs. Catherine Bowen's *Yankee from Olympus: Justice Holmes and His Family,* a pleasing example of half-fictionized biography, spiced for popular taste. Miss Tilton, trained in research, is less ponderous than Morse and less sprightly than Mrs. Bowen. Personally I confess that Mrs. Bowen was more entertaining and therefore appealed to a wider public; but Miss Tilton, using all the familiar sources and many new ones placed at her disposal, has drawn a more accurate portrait. Her account of Dr. Holmes's work as a physician is more complete than any in print; her amusing description of his adventures as a lyceum lecturer throws new light on a little-known phase of his many-sided career; and her analysis of his engaging weaknesses brings out the charm which so much impressed his contemporaries. Miss Tilton is cautious in her literary and personal evaluations, and particularly careful not to overstress the alleged antagonism between father and son, of which Mrs. Bowen made so much. I do not mean to imply that Miss Tilton is dull, for she definitely is not; but she is too conscientious to indulge in picturesqueness when it is not justified by the evidence, and she prefers truth to sentimentality and sensationalism. Her book, so thoroughly documented, so comprehensive in its scope, so restrained in its conclusions, has made any other biography unnecessary for many years to come. CLAUDE M. FUESS, *Andover, Massachusetts*

CAPAWACK, ALIAS MARTHA'S VINEYARD. By *Warner Foote Gookin.* (Edgartown, Mass., Dukes County Historical Society, 1947, pp. 58.)

DELAWARE: A HISTORY OF THE FIRST STATE. Edited by *H. Clay Reed,* Professor of History, University of Delaware. With the Collaboration of Marion Björnson Reed. Three volumes. (New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1947, pp. xiv, 524; 525–1014; 618.) The editor rightly describes this work as contributions to, or aspects of, the history of the first state. Fifty contributors have shared, by writing a chapter each on some social, economic, scientific, or political aspect of the history of Delaware. The volumes constitute, therefore, neither a true history nor an encyclopedia but rather an extensive source book of useful information, brought up to date and made readable. The plan can be best indicated by description. There is a general introduction on natural history, of which C. A. Weslager's chapter on the Indians of Delaware is the most satisfactory item. Follows a series of general surveys

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of life in Delaware from the colonial beginnings to the present. Part II discusses the history of government; Part III, the economic development, including transportation and labor. Volume II contains the most original material, since certain aspects of social history have not been included in earlier histories. The Negroes, the Jews, the Finns, the Poles, the Italians in Delaware each have a chapter apart from the Swedes, the English, and the Irish who were the primary settlers of the state. Education, religion, medicine, and social service are discussed in this volume; as also architecture, painting, and music, with an excellent chapter with fresh material on the literature of Delaware by August H. Able III. Delaware has had one major figure who belongs in the history of both American history and painting: Howard Pyle. The third (and heaviest volume) will be a familiar sight to readers of state histories. It contains the briefish biographies (with large portraits) of contemporary citizens. Some of these biographies will be valuable for later historians. Most of them, naturally, are of only local interest. In short these three volumes constitute a useful general survey with occasional chapters of originality and importance, the whole, as the editor himself says, having as its chief service the bringing up to date of Delaware information. With this in view, the emphasis of space is given to strictly current happenings. In general, the work can best be described as local history for local reading. HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, *Clinton, Connecticut*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

SOUTH OF FORTY: FROM THE MISSISSIPPI TO THE RIO GRANDE: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Jesse L. Rader*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1947, pp. xi, 336, $10.00.) This book is to be accepted for what it is—a list of 3,800

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titles, which relate in some way to the region lying south of the fortieth parallel and having the Mississippi, the Rio Grande, and the Gulf of Mexico as its other limits. The compiler roughly defines the area as the lower half of the Louisiana Purchase, including Texas. He makes no claims for his list as a selected bibliography, nor does he indicate the main libraries from which he has drawn his titles. It is, however, "an effort toward an exhaustive bibliography," representing all sorts of formal publications, with emphases on history, personal narrative, and books of travel. The specialist who consults it will occasionally miss a familiar title or encounter one whose presence seems inexplicable. It will in many cases serve as a first aid to those starting to read in the field. The authors are mentioned in alphabetical order, hence may be readily found. A twelve-page index to names and subject matter in the editorial comments frequently proves disappointing. The compiler draws most of his information from title pages and prefaces, followed by an occasional brief comment. A comparison of citations to "Texas" and "Louisiana" in his index will illustrate his methods and the materials available under each. "Texas" is merely mentioned in sixty-eight different items; while "Louisiana" apparently calls for no such mention. Among subtopics the disparity is not so great. Under "description and travel" the respective figures are 32 and 19; under "history," 109 and 70; under "biography," 13 and 2. Texas draws a number of major subtopics: "biography," "early days," "guide books," "rangers," "revolution"; while Louisiana must content itself with 14 items on the "Louisiana Purchase." In all "Texas" fills up a full column of the index and "Louisiana" but a third as much. Oklahoma, as we might expect, has about double the space given to the Pelican State. Missouri draws 21 items in all, including the river, and Arkansas, 47. "Indian and Indians" surprisingly take up more space than "Texas." The compiler has served as librarian at the University of Oklahoma since 1909 and has participated in many allied activities of the state. The volume, like other works from this local press, is a fine specimen of bookmaking. ISAAC J. COX, *Newberry Library*

BENJAMIN MOSBY SMITH, 1811–1893. By *Francis R. Flournoy,* Professor of History and Political Science, the College of Emporia, Emporia, Kansas. (Richmond, Richmond Press, 1947, pp. viii, 153, $2.00.) An able, honest, and professional job of hack writing, this semi-institutional history of Hampden-Sydney College, the Union Theological Seminary (now of Richmond), and of the Presbyterian church in Virginia will reward the close student of social life in the South during the Reconstruction and during the latter days of slavery. Benjamin Mosby Smith is remembered, if at all, for his promotion of public schools and Presbyterianism. His contribution to religious literature may be accurately gauged by the fact that neither the DAB nor this full-dress biography attempts a complete list of his exegetical writings. Flournoy's treatment of Smith's life is of interest to historians chiefly by reason of its direct dependence on letters and diaries, which give unexpected insights into the misery and degradation of the postwar South. The book is poorly printed and cheaply bound.
JOHN COOK WYLLIE, *University of Virginia Library*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE MISSOURI VALLEY: LAND OF DROUTH, FLOOD, AND PROMISE. By *Rufus Terral*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947, pp. ix, 274, $3.75.) This work is a graphic picture of the Missouri River drainage area. The area treated comprises most of nine states. It produces most of our wheat, much of our corn, livestock, alfalfa, sugar beets, potatoes, beans, and fruits. Its mineral deposits are vast but not superior in quality. Its power possibilities are very great. In a primarily agricultural area, largely subhumid, the top soil and water are indispensable resources for continued productivity. With these great resources man has been prodigal. He has destroyed the

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coverage that absorbed and conserved the moisture and bound together with its roots the invaluable top soil. The water should be controlled for irrigation and flood prevention and the turbulent changing river pinned to a fixed channel which would have minor value for transportation. The development of cheap electric power which would encourage further industrialization offers the largest return upon the huge outlay of capital necessary to conserving our great resources in the Missouri Valley. The author, a veteran newspaper writer, has made a comprehensive study of the problems of the valley and the remedies offered, applied, and needed. He was an early student of the TVA and has listed many of its mistakes but appreciates its vast achievement and success. He sees the need for a similar integrated undertaking in the Missouri Valley. He regards the very active "Interagency Committee" to promote the Pick-Sloan plan as a "fake MVA." It is composed of the Army engineers, the Reclamation Bureau, the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Power Commission, the Department of Commerce, and the governors of five states. It is especially unsatisfactory since it is promoted and dominated by the Army engineers, who are primarily concerned with maintaining a nine-foot channel for navigation, which may require the entire water supply of the valley. The author makes clear that much of the work planned to date by the various agencies is based upon inadequate information. Knowledge about climate and rainfall in large areas of the region is far from adequate for many of the decisions made by the Pick-Sloan planners. To the author the present program is a program of special interests whose propaganda has been supported by both public and private funds. The program has found ready acceptance because the area was politically allergic to the Rooseveltian proposal of an MVA. The initiative for this undertaking seems to be left to leaders within the basin. This is a mistake, for the conservation of the bread and meat basket of the nation is as vital to New York and California as it is to North Dakota or Nebraska. With a few minor imperfections the book is a masterly presentation of one of our greatest national problems. It is popular in style and contains much fresh and well-organized information. J. L. SELLERS, *University of Nebraska*

PICTURE MAKER OF THE OLD WEST: WILLIAM H. JACKSON. By *Clarence S. Jackson*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, pp. x, 308, $7.50.) William Jackson was, in his historical setting, a very great photographer: by far the best in the early West and in many of its areas the first one. It is important to have available a collection of his photographs for reference and use, and this basic purpose his son's book serves adequately. The portions of Jackson's work that have the greatest historical significance are well represented: photographs of various Plains Indians, the building of the Union Pacific, a number of frontier towns, the Colorado Rockies, Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon and Canyon de Chelly (which he was the first to photograph), and especially the Yellowstone country which he photographed not only for the first time but so effectively that he was a powerful help in the effort to get the area set aside as the first national park. Some pencil sketches from his service with the Union army and some surprisingly good ones of the pony express, bull teams, and other frontier subjects are also included. In the main the photographs are well chosen. Jackson's mastery of a primitive medium in atrociously difficult circumstances, his feeling for "absolute" photography, his admirable esthetic, and his sense of the significant subject are well documented. Many of the photographs are superb, some remain unsurpassed today; those of the Yellowstone in particular are magnificently reproduced. A little further search, however, would occasionally have been wise: Jackson made better pictures of Laguna Pueblo, for instance, than those reproduced here. The editing is careless, sometimes unpardonably so. A surprising number of plates are incorrectly dated;

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some, for instance the Thousand Mile Tree, are incorrectly located; some, for instance (and surprisingly) Bridal Veil Falls, are incorrectly identified. Others are run into the text in such a way as to suggest that they were made at the time under discussion when certainly they were not. The narrative gets its geography wrong in a number of places, contains a handful of historical misconceptions and a few errors of fact, and is superficial in its understanding of the frontier actions with which it deals. Its account of Jackson himself is thoroughly reliable but lacks the gusto of the autobiography which he wrote when he had passed ninety. BERNARD DEVOTO, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

HISTORIC MIDWEST HOUSES. By *John Drury.* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1947, pp. 246, $5.00.) Middlewesterners who appreciate the historical interest of their own region will be glad to have this collection of sketches of eighty-seven houses gathered from twelve states. The volume is something of a pioneer, and, if it leads to a wider appreciation of our historic buildings and helps to secure their preservation, it will have performed a service for which many will be thankful. The author, interested in old houses as "appealing relics of great men and women" follows what he calls a "biographical approach." The assortment selected includes the homes of presidents, generals, old settlers, writers, bandits, and other classifications. The authors of best-sellers are especially well represented. While the subjects are grouped chronologically under states, and each group covered by an introductory paragraph, the whole provides little sense of historical continuity. Possibly this could have been achieved only if many more examples had been included. There were plenty of good ones left out. His sources are seldom cited, but it is evident that the author has used them hastily and without much criticism, after the current newspaper style of reporting. For instance, the Cahokia Courthouse is called "Illinois' most historic building," whereas there are very few facts known about it, including the date of construction, and none of them imposing. The account was derived from a particularly syrupy piece published years ago. It relates how Captain Jean Baptiste Saucier, a French army engineer, after designing and completing the Fort de Chartres, liked the region so well that he settled comfortably in this building in 1763, "accorded the highest respect and consideration by the entire community." Actually, an official letter in the Paris archives shows that Saucier died in 1757, well before the completion of the fort, leaving his widow and a numerous family in distress. Although architectural analysis is given a minor place, Mr. Drury occasionally attempts to classify his subjects stylistically. Unfortunately, there was not available a single comprehensive reference work on American architecture of the nineteenth century which he could have used. Even so, it is not necessary to call the wooden mantlepieces of the Menard house at Kaskaskia "French" or to declare the Baum-Longworth-Sinton-Taft house in Cincinnati an example of the Greek Revival fashion. CHARLES PETERSON, *St. Louis, Missouri*

ARKANSAS IMPRINTS, 1821–1876. Edited by *Albert H. Allen.* (New York, R. R. Bowker for Bibliographical Society of America, 1947, pp. xx, 236, $6.50.)

SILVER KINGS: THE LIVES AND TIMES OF MACKAY, FAIR, FLOOD, AND O'BRIEN, LORDS OF THE NEVADA COMSTOCK LODE. By *Oscar Lewis.* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, pp. xii, 286, viii, $4.00.) Mr. Lewis is already known for three books dealing directly or indirectly with the Comstock. The first was concerned with the Central Pacific Railroad, the second with the San Francisco Palace Hotel, both of which rested largely on Nevada mining profits. His third was a new edition,

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with an important introduction, of the lode's chief history by its chief journalist. This present work gives the life stories of the four Irishmen who developed the Consolidated Virginia and California mines and found the "Big Bonanza," the greatest of all-time silver strikes in richness and quantity. Of the four, Mackay was best known, ablest, and most popular. With his bonanza profits he built up the Postal Telegraph and Commercial Cable systems, while Mrs. Mackay became the first American to cut a swath in the society of Paris and London. Fair was capable as mechanic, mine manager, and financier. Known as Slippery Jim, he was least popular of all the Comstock's leading figures, a fact of which he was well aware. Yet by dressing and acting the part of a jovial miner, and probably at cost of $350,000, in 1880 he won a United States Senate seat from bankerish little Sharon. While his daughters married an Oelrichs and a Vanderbilt, his sons came to early and bad ends. Chief role of O'Brien was to keep peace among the other three at their stormy meetings. Flood's partner in the San Francisco saloon from which they started as mining stockbrokers, O'Brien later took little part in high finance. Flood, like O'Brien, never lived in Nevada. A shrewd financier, he handled the secret stock deals, and later ably headed the firm's bank in San Francisco, built to rival that of Ralston, Mills, and Sharon. The fortunes of the four were won not only by the bonanza's richness but by control of mills, lumber and water supply, everything but the railroad. Their method was that of Ralston and Sharon, Huntington and Stanford, Carnegie, Rockefeller, and the Credit Mobilier—as an inside group of managers and shareholders, to reap the chief profits by monopolistic contracts and speculative use of inside knowledge. The author does not attempt to retell the full story of the Comstock but merely to sketch the careers of four leading figures who rode the boom at its peak, and their families. Only two errors of fact have been noted, both relatively minor, in a very readable book. AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON, *University of Nevada*

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

GENERAL

EL CABALLO EN SANTA FE EN TIEMPOS DE LA COLONIA. Por *Agustín Zapata Gollán*. [Publicaciones del Departamento de Estudios Etnograficos y Coloniales, No. 5.] (Santa Fé, Argentina, Departamento de Estudios Etnograficos y Coloniales, 1947, pp. 105.) Doctor Zapata Gollán, the author not only of this fifth monograph of Santa Fé's Department of Colonial and Ethnographic Studies but of the preceding four as well, contends that the province of Santa Fé was the first center in Argentina of a flourishing livestock industry, which included both horses and cattle, and that the industry spread from this center to the rest of Argentina, to what later became Uruguay, and to Chile. He deals with the breeding and branding of horses and with their utilization in the cattle industry, in war against the Indians, and as a means of transportation. His work is based largely upon materials in the archives of Santa Fé and in the national archives of Argentina, but he relies to some extent on secondary works, especially Emilio Coni's *Historia de las vaquerías del Río de la Plata* (Madrid, 1930). He points out that the livestock industry early fell under the control of a few officials and aristocrats, that the stealing of horses and cattle soon became an important phase of the industry, with the Indians prominent among the thieves, and that Negro and mulatto slaves were often employed to guard and feed the animals. J. Fred Rippy, *University of Chicago*

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Historical News

The Sixty-Second Annual Meeting

THE sixty-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association took place in Cleveland, Ohio, on December 27, 28, and 29, 1947, with headquarters in the Hotel Cleveland. Some fourteen affiliated societies, not to include special groups within the Association, met concurrently. A total of thirty-six sessions, exclusive of business meetings, was devoted to historical subjects ranging over the entire field of history. In spite of postmasters who, in the midst of an unprecedented volume of holiday mail, laid aside the programs for post-Christmas delivery, and of an extraordinary fall of snow in the northeastern states, which paralyzed traffic for the first day and a half of the meeting, something over eight hundred members registered their attendance and upwards of two hundred others attended the sessions.

The meeting opened Saturday morning, December 27, with four concurrent sessions devoted, respectively, to the Middle Ages, English history, Russian history, and early American history. At the first of these, entitled "Aspects of the Middle Ages," August Charles Krey of the University of Minnesota served as chairman. The first paper, "Post-war Collapse and Rehabilitation in Genoa, 1149–62," by Hilmar Carl Krueger, University of Cincinnati, centered on the five years 1149–54 when the Genoese made a radical shift in their government personnel amounting to "political and financial collapse" following costly wars. Rehabilitation was accomplished by the restoration of the customary ruling families.

The second paper, "Erfurt Schools and Scholars in the Thirteenth Century," by Gray Cowan Boyce, Northwestern University, presented a vivid picture of the cultural life and organization of Erfurt at the end of the thirteenth century, noting a progressive development in the organization of masters and scholars foreshadowing the formal establishment of the university a century later. The discussion was opened by James Lea Cate, University of Chicago, whose comments, enlivened with characteristic wit and humor, expressed both appreciation and penetrating criticism.

The general discussion which followed was widely shared. Professor Krueger's paper, growing out of a study upon which he and his students were currently engaged, invited and received the criticism which a seminar report merits. Many questions were raised about the relation of public and private finance as indexes of prosperity. Professor E. G. Schwiebert of Wittenberg College paid a high tribute to the paper of Professor Boyce as a synthesis of material drawn from a wide range of sources, laws, chronicles, literature, and geography.

The second session, concerned with "Religious Dissent: A Central Theme in English History," was presided over by Donald O. Wagner, chief historian, Army Medical Library, Washington, D. C. Kenneth S. Cooper, of George Pea-

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body College for Teachers, presented the first paper, "Dissent as Heresy." Broadly speaking, Mr. Cooper set forth two tenets: that English Protestantism consciously identified itself with Lollardy and, even beyond this identification, sought to identify itself with a body of dissent as old as Rome itself; and that English Protestant dissenters from the time of Henry VIII to that of the Wesleys were, in the main, no advocates of the cult of progress, their proposals for change being only to the end of restoring the golden age of the primitive, apostolic church. Hence, "among the radicals, the dissenter stands as a reactionist (in the broad sense of that word), not a progressive, and his point of view provides an interesting survival of the golden age commonly held by western peoples prior to the seventeenth century."

The second paper of this session, "Dissent as Crime," was presented by Charles I. Mullett of the University of Missouri. Asserting that "the history of Protestant Dissent, 1660–1828, is the evolution from outlawry to citizenship," Professor Mullett traced this evolution from the Clarendon Code to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, pointing out that throughout the era dissent was labeled as crime by Conformists and that the resultant denial of rights and privileges to the Dissenter elements affected the whole life of Britain.

> Cut off from most professions, which were thereby somewhat impoverished, Dissenters turned to business and the colonies [said Professor Mullett]. Cut off from universities they developed educational facilities of their own, partly to make a living, more to perpetuate their ideals. Here they welcomed the new philosophy and science and new techniques in teaching; such arsenals of revolutionary ideas at once excited mob attacks and rationalist approval. Cut off from civic rights and privileges Dissenters worked assiduously for toleration and democracy; and that great area of political theory, church and state, would lose half its crop and most of its interest were it not for dissent. Despised and rejected by both it nonetheless had a tremendous impact on each.

And, among other arresting conclusions, the author stated that we "must entirely reject Laski's description of the years from Locke to Bentham as 'an era of stagnation' in political thought." The discussion which followed, led by Palmer Throop of the University of Michigan and Grace Cockroft of Skidmore College, was spirited, characterized by much appreciation of thought-provoking interpretations of the papers.

The third session of Saturday morning was entitled "Russian Isolationism in the Light of History." Professor A. Lobanov-Rostovsky of the University of Michigan served as chairman and, as it happened, also gave an extemporaneous address on Russian isolationism in place of Anatole G. Mazour, who was snowbound in the East and whose scheduled paper, "Curtains in the Past," was not presented. Professor Lobanov-Rostovsky pointed out that isolationism, or a critical approach to Western culture, is an age-old trend in Russian history dating from the separation of the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches; that it

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was fostered by the Mongol conquest of Russia; that the veneer of westernization acquired by the Russian upper classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries failed to overcome all Russian suspicion of the West; that nineteenth century Slavophiles adopted a Spengler-like attitude towards Western civilization; and that though Lenin was a Westerner and Sovietism an outgrowth of Westernism, the Slavophile attitude has re-emerged in a new guise since World War II so that it is not yet clear which of the two trends may gain the upper hand in Russia.

Professor Stuart R. Tompkins of the University of Oklahoma presented the second paper on "The Fate of the Russian Bible Society, a Case of Religious Xenophobia." Expressing surprise that the Russian Bible Society came into existence as a result of missionary activities of agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society—inasmuch as the purposes of this organization and its foreign origin would scarcely appear to recommend it to Orthodox Russia—Professor Tompkins showed that the Russian Bible Society owed its being to the religious experiences peculiar to Tsar Alexander I and to the fears generated by the Napoleonic invasion of 1812. As the tsar came to formulate his grandiose scheme for introducing Christian principles into the conduct of international relations (in the Holy Alliance), he also conceived the notion of applying similar principles in domestic affairs. To implement the latter end, the Russian Bible Society was given lively tsarist support for a time (1816–1820), and it developed nearly two hundred auxiliaries in Russia and in Siberia, translated the Bible into some twenty-six different Russian languages and dialects, and distributed about one million copies of the Bible or parts of it in Russia. But the Roman Catholic Church had protested its activities, and the Russian Orthodox Church objected both to the Bible Society and to the tsarist "Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction," created in 1817. When, in 1820, the fear of revolution effected a profound change in the tsar's attitude, the enemies of the Bible Society had little difficulty in poisoning Alexander's mind against its religious and educational activities. In 1824, Alexander abolished the hated dual ministry, and, in the June following the December Revolution, Nicholas I abolished the Russian Bible Society. Native forces thereafter succeeded in asserting themselves against alien influences, and Slavophilism emerged triumphant.

Discussion of the above papers was scheduled to be led by Professors Michael Karpovich of Harvard University and Warren B. Walsh of Syracuse University. However, as Professor Karpovich was delayed in arriving at the meeting, Professor F. S. Rodkey of the University of Illinois opened the discussion, which was continued by Professor Karpovich upon the latter's arrival. The leaders, assisted by members of the audience, turned their discussion about the preconceived patterns of such Russian theorists as Prince Odoevsky and Danilevsky, the efficacy of the "Nicholas System," and the failure of both ideology and police methods to keep Russian intellectuals out of touch with contemporary western European thought.

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The fourth and last session held during the first half-day of the meeting was devoted to "Early American History." Verner W. Crane of the University of Michigan was chairman, and Carl Bridenbaugh, director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, read the only paper, entitled "The Neglected First Half of American History." (See pp. 506–17 above.) A spirited discussion followed, led by Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin and Theodore Calvin Pease of the University of Illinois. Unfortunately, however, members of the audience diverted the discussion into problems of high-school instruction in American history.

Four luncheon conferences followed the Saturday morning sessions, each of them a joint conference with an affiliated organization, to wit: the History of Science Society, the American Catholic Historical Association, the Agricultural History Society, and the Society of American Archivists. The first two of these groups held luncheons of a social and business nature, with no formal papers, whereas the latter two accompanied their luncheon gatherings by an academic program. At the joint luncheon conference of the American Historical Association and the Society of American Archivists, William J. Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, presided as chairman; and Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky presented a paper entitled "The Archives of Small Business."

The joint luncheon conference of the American Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society was held with Frederick Merk of Harvard University as chairman. A. N. Duckham, agricultural attaché of the British Embassy, Washington, D. C., presented a paper on "Liberty, Progress and Security: Fifteen Centuries of British Agriculture," an interesting exposition of the interrelationship of technological change and sociopolitical organization.

Only one of the five academic sessions held during Saturday afternoon, December 27, was conducted at headquarters in the Hotel Cleveland. This was a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Military Institute devoted to the subject of "Writing Contemporary Military History." A number of circumstances combined to produce several departures from the printed announcement of this session. Frederic L. Paxson of the University of California, who was scheduled to preside, was unable to attend, and Kent Roberts Greenfield, chief historian, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C., served in his stead. Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University and Hugh M. Cole of the Historical Division, Department of the Army, had planned to take the principal roles in the program; but Professor Morison was delayed by the heavy snow in New England, and did not arrive in time for the session (he presented his remarks Sunday evening, following the annual dinner of the Association); and Dr. Cole was forced to carry the burden of the topic alone. Discussion was led by General Jacob L. Devers, commanding general, Army Ground Forces, and Sidney Painter of the Johns Hopkins University. General Ira C. Eaker, formerly deputy commanding

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general and chief of air staff, Army Air Forces, who was scheduled to take part in the discussion, was unable to be present.

A joint session of the American Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society was held Saturday afternoon at the Western Reserve Historical Society Library. Rodney C. Loehr, director, Forest Products History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, was in the chair, and three papers were presented, as follows: "Agriculture in the Undrained Basin of Asia," by George W. Anderson of the University of Minnesota"; "The Condition of Rural Economy in Northeastern France and the Palatinate, 1815 to 1830," by M. L. Flaningam of Purdue University; and "Europe's Recurrent Land Problem," by V. Alton Moody of Iowa State College. An open discussion followed, given over largely to the present-day European agrarian situation.

The Economic History Association also held a joint session with the American Historical Association on Saturday afternoon. This meeting was held in the Textile Room of the Cleveland Museum of Art with David Owen of Harvard University as chairman. The session was given over to consideration of "Free Trade in the Nineteenth Century." Richard W. Hale, jr., of the Roxbury Latin School, presented a paper on "The Political Economy Club and Free Trade"; and H. Donaldson Jordan of Clark University discussed "The Repeal of the British Corn Laws." Robert B. Eckles of Purdue University was leader of the discussion.

"Cultural History of the Old Northwest" was the theme of a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held Saturday afternoon in the auditorium of the Cleveland Museum of Art. The chairman was Carl Wittke of Oberlin, substituting for Dwight L. Dumond of the University of Michigan, who was ill. Two papers were presented. The first, "Social Effects of the Depression of 1819 in the Old Northwest" by Thomas H. Greer of Michigan State College, pointed out that the principal problem of the depression in the Old Northwest was land debt, a problem which was solved over a period of years by congressional relief acts and by state laws to protect debtors. Probably the most important social effect was the crystallization of class feeling among the debtor groups, a feeling which assumed a sectional aspect in the West and which was expressed by a growing hatred of eastern financial interests and the United States Bank. Thus, the ground was prepared for Jackson's triumph in 1828. The depression brought gloom, but little actual suffering to farm households; the general popular reaction was to return to greater frugality, industry, and sobriety.

In the second paper, "The Benevolent Movement," Arthur R. Kooker of the University of Southern California described the network of interlocking directorates which existed among the benevolent societies in the territory—and later in the state—of Michigan. In that region the pattern was identical to that propounded some years ago on a national scale by the late Professor Gilbert H.

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Barnes: that the reform movements of the 1820's and 1830's were organized and dominated by a small group of Presbyterian clergymen and prominent laymen. The moving force and genius of the Michigan scene was John Payne Cleaveland, dynamic pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit. This session was heavily attended, and an open discussion followed the papers.

The remaining academic session conducted in the course of Saturday afternoon was a joint session of the American Historical Association and the History of Science Society. Devoted to "Historical Scholarship and the History of Science," the meeting was held in the Western Reserve Historical Society Museum with Dr. Bruno Gebhard, director of the Cleveland Health Museum, presiding. Three papers were read: "The History of the Mechanical Arts and the Student of Medieval Society," by Carl Stephenson of Cornell University; "Literary Scholarship and the History of Science" by Theodore Hornberger of the University of Minnesota; and "History without Historical Method: An Example from the History of Astronomy, 1741–1941" by John W. Olmstead of the University of California. Richard H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania, who was scheduled to serve as discussion leader, was unable to attend the meeting, and Francis R. Johnson of Stanford University served in his stead. This session, too, was well attended, and several persons in the audience participated in the discussion.

The scheduled activities of Saturday afternoon were brought to an end with a business meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association held in the Empire Room of the Hotel Cleveland at four o'clock.

Two dinner sessions were held on Saturday evening and, as facilities of the Hotel Cleveland had been engaged by a prior arrangement with another organization, both of them were conducted outside the Association's headquarters. The dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America was in the Pine Room of the Hotel Statler. Charles Howard McIlwain had planned to be chairman, but he found it impossible to attend the meeting and had delegated Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton to preside. Professor Strayer, however, was snowbound in the East and arrived too late to serve so, at the last moment, Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota was drafted to act as chairman. Professor Einar Joranson of the University of Chicago furnished the intellectual fare in the form of a paper on "The Tradition concerning the Coming of Normans to Italy before 1017."

While the above dinner was in progress, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association dined in the Euclid Ball Room, also in the Hotel Statler. The president of the Association, Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University, was chairman, and Edward Everett Dale of the University of Oklahoma presented a paper entitled "Two American Frontiers."

Four sessions had been scheduled for Sunday morning, but one of them, devoted to "Present Problems in Historiography," was postponed until 1:30 in the afternoon. The remaining three were held as originally planned. One was concerned with "The Far East: Southeast Asia," with Claude A. Buss of Stanford

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University as chairman. Three papers were read at this session, and the discussion which followed was open (*i.e.*, without a prearranged leader). The papers were: "The History of Southeast Asia: An Anthropologist's View," by Eugene C. Worman, jr., of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University; "Malaya, Racial Harmony to Triangular Nationalism," by Lennox A. Mills of the University of Minnesota; and "Distinctive Aspects of Burmese Nationalism," by John F. Cady, research analyst, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Held concurrently with the above session was a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Hispanic American group devoted to "Latin America: Effects of External Pressures in the Seventeenth Century." Clarence H. Haring of Harvard University was chairman, and Engel Sluiter of the University of California presented the only paper, entitled "Dutch-Spanish Rivalry in the Caribbean Area, 1594–1609." Discussion was led by Roland D. Hussey of the University of California at Los Angeles and by Alexander Marchant of Vanderbilt University. Miss Irene A. Wright of the Department of State, Washington, D. C., who was scheduled to take part in the discussion, was unable to attend the meeting.

The third meeting held in the course of Sunday morning was a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association, with attention focused on "Protestants and the Council of Trent." Donald P. Gavin of John Carroll University presided in the absence of the Reverend Frederick E. Welfle, S.J., who had been scheduled as chairman. Two papers were read; the first, entitled "Papal Efforts toward Protestant Representation at Trent," was presented by Stephan G. Kuttner of the Catholic University of America; the second, on "Protestant Reaction to the Council of Trent," was by Wilhelm Pauck of the University of Chicago. The Reverend Edward A. Ryan, S.J., of Woodstock College served as the only discussion leader, as Frederick C. Dietz of the University of Illinois (who had been scheduled to take part with the Reverend Ryan) was forced by other Association business to be absent. The session was heavily attended, and a lively discussion from the floor followed upon the discussion leader's remarks.

Following close upon its Sunday morning session, the Hispanic American group held a joint luncheon conference with the American Historical Association—the only scheduled luncheon meeting for Sunday. The subject for the conference was "Spanish Colonial Culture in the Seventeenth Century." Philip W. Powell of Northwestern University was chairman, and John Tate Lanning of Duke University read a paper, entitled "Learning in the Dark Age of the Spanish Empire," an entertaining and informative account of the hollowness of the intellectual life of Spanish America in the seventeenth century. The annual meeting of the Hispanic American group followed, in the course of which measures were adopted for strengthening the group in its membership and organization, and in its research and publication activities.

To the four sessions originally intended for Sunday afternoon—excluding the

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annual business meeting of the American Historical Association at 4:30 P.M.—was added the session on "Present Problems in Historiography" postponed from Sunday morning. This session, planned by its chairman, Jeannette P. Nichols of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, with the co-operation of the Social Science Research Council of New York City in the preparation of mimeographed copies of the papers for the advance distribution to, and for the consideration of, all interested persons, was an outgrowth of the publication of the Council's *Bulletin 54,* prepared by a "Committee on Historiography," of eight members of the American Historical Association. It was devoted wholly to problems arising out of the quest for truth in history. Two papers were read. Bert James Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College, in the first paper on "Some Problems Raised by Historical Relativism," argued that nineteenth century historians, emphasizing a "scientific" concept of history, had enhanced "fact" and demeaned concepts, thus tending to banish value judgments from critical scholarship; and that, although twentieth century scholars pay greater heed to value concepts, they suffer from relativist frailties. James C. Malin of the University of Kansas presented the second paper, entitled "Methods of Extending the Limits of Certainty." Professor Malin, repudiating the idea of progress and the "uncertainty frame of reference," affirmed the certainty of knowledge as epistemology, regardless of the method of attaining it. Willson H. Coates of the University of Rochester and Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, Chicago, led the discussion in which many persons from the audience (more than three hundred were in attendance) took part. Two concessions emerged from the meeting: that relativists are not always incautious, nor traditionalists wholly fearful, in the constructive use of the imagination. It appears likely that a revision of *Bulletin 54* will be undertaken by the Social Science Research Council with the aid of a new committee of historians.

The above session overlapped, to some degree, the four concurrent meetings scheduled to open at 2:30 P.M. Sunday. At the first of these, concerned with "Aspects of the Ancient World," Joseph Ward Swain of the University of Illinois was chairman. Thomas A. Brady of the University of Missouri read a paper on "Some Problems of Hellenistic Isis Worship" in which he emphasized that this cult provided an outlet—social as well as religious—for the energies of its devotees in Greece where most of them, being foreigners, were not permitted to take part in the official affairs of their cities. Miss Eva M. Sanford of Sweet Briar College presented the second paper, entitled "Romans and Provincials in the Late Republic," wherein she presented materials showing the good and bad sides of Roman provincial government in the last century of the Republic. Rolf Johannesen of Wayne University was leader of the discussion.

Richard B. Morris of the College of the City of New York was chairman of another Sunday afternoon session, this one devoted to "The Era of the American Revolution." Edmund S. Morgan of Brown University read a paper on "Colonial Ideas of Parliamentary Power, 1764–1766," in which he maintained that the

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distinction between direct and indirect taxation, so often insisted upon by historians of the Revolution, was seldom made by colonials at the time, as judged by the historical evidence extant. E. James Ferguson of the University of Maryland presented the second paper of the session, entitled "Foundations of National Finance, 1775–1790," which established important interrelationships between early national financial problems and methods and those which had already developed in the states themselves. Professors Louise B. Dunbar of the University of Illinois and James O. Wettereau of New York University led the discussion, followed by numerous participants from the floor.

"The American Historical Association and Library of Congress Joint Program for Microcopying Historical Source Materials" was the general subject of a session under the chairmanship of Edgar L. Erickson of the University of Illinois (Professor Erickson is also chairman of the Committee on Documentary Reproduction of the American Historical Association). The chairman opened the session with an account of the steps taken by the Committee on Documentary Reproduction, with the co-operation of the Library of Congress, to organize a long-range microcopying program in materials basic to research in the social sciences and humanities. Initial emphasis is being placed on materials held abroad and non-existent in United States repositories, and an effort is being made to integrate the program with the Fulbright Law and to take advantage of opportunities offered for microcopying materials in occupied areas. Five brief papers followed. In the absence of Verner W. Clapp, chief assistant librarian, Library of Congress, who was scheduled to present the first paper, Dan Lacy, assistant director for acquisitions, Library of Congress, described the efforts of the Library of Congress—extending over a period of more than forty years—to acquire reproductions of manuscript materials relating to the United States in foreign repositories. Recently the program has been broadened to include materials other than those relating to the United States, both as a means of preserving sources threatened by destruction and as a service to American scholarship. But the financial means of the Library of Congress are inadequate for the task; it can only assist others along the way.

Walter Johnson of the University of Chicago followed Mr. Lacy with remarks on "The Educational Program under the Fulbright Law," setting forth the basic features of the Fulbright program and the governing principles which have been agreed upon by the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Frederick S. Rodkey of the University of Illinois then presented a paper on "Unfreezing Research Materials in the United States: Russian Historical Sources as an Illustrative Example." Professor Rodkey pointed out that source materials for the study of Russian history exist in some wealth in a limited number of American repositories; that the likelihood of expanding them appreciably in the near future is exceedingly small; and that by their reproduction through microcopying they could be made more widely available to American scholars. Richard A. Humphrey, assistant chief of

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the Division of Historical Policy Research, Department of State, continued the program with a paper on "Microfilm Deposits Resulting from War-Time Activities of the Army, Navy, and Department of State." Dr. Humphrey revealed that only a small portion of the huge quantities of enemy documents discovered have been microfilmed; that the State Department microfilmed many documents in order not to remove the originals from enemy countries; that the two guiding principles in the microfilming of enemy papers were to secure papers useful for prosecution of the war and to obtain documents useful for the analysis of enemy policy as it led to war; that most of the microfilms are of German materials, with fewer Italian and very scanty Japanese sources; and that most of the State Department materials are still on the "classified list" and not available for unofficial scholarly purposes. The Army and the Navy were primarily concerned with microfilms of enemy papers with intelligence and operational value; their collections also include materials for training in the armed forces service schools. The Navy, in co-operation with the British Admiralty, possesses microfilm copies of the German Admiralty records giving a substantially complete operational history of the German Navy from 1840 to 1945. Those of the pre-1930 period are open to unofficial researchers. With this major exception, most of the remaining Navy and Army microfilms gathered from enemy sources during World War II are on the "classified" list. The final paper of this session, "The Problem of Publicity for Research Materials in Microfilm" was presented by Louis Knott Koontz of the University of California at Los Angeles. Professor Koontz emphasized the desire of the Committee on Documentary Reproduction to serve as a clearinghouse for the gathering and dissemination of information on the microcopying of all historical materials, to set up a workable system of classification of these materials, and to work in co-operation with both public and private agencies to the end that materials be made available to scholars as widely as possible.

The last of the Sunday afternoon sessions to be reported was an informal discussion conducted by the "Lexington Group" on (1) works in progress, source materials, and bibliographies in railway history, and (2) possible bases of co-operation between business corporations and professional historians. James J. Talman of the University of Western Ontario was chairman of the discussion session, and the meeting began with some half-dozen reports on specific developments of general interest in railway history. The group then turned its attention to problems arising in the preparation of a bibliography of secondary works in railway history, a project on which the group has been engaged for more than a year. Attention then was directed to the second topic docketed for discussion, namely, possible bases of co-operation between business corporations and professional historians.

The annual dinner, followed by the presidential address, in the ballroom of the Hotel Cleveland on Sunday evening, December 28, was attended by over 360. This session was set in a happy key by the opening remarks of Professor Donald

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Barnes, the local arrangements chairman, introducing the presiding officer, Professor John W. Caughey of the University of California at Los Angeles, who promptly justified his reputation as a good selection for such an occasion. Preceding the presidential address Mr. Ford as Executive Secretary announced the award of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship of $1,000 to Dr. Lewis Hanke of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress for his manuscript on "The Struggle for Justice in the Spanish Conquest of America," which will be published later.

The presidential address by Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker on "The Molding of the Middle West" was received with an interest and attention that has now been shared by all the membership who have had opportunity to read it in the January issue of the *Review*.

"Philosophy of History" was the subject of one of five concurrent sessions held during Monday morning. As Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University was ill and unable to be chairman, as originally scheduled, R. F. Arragon of Reed College served in that capacity. The first paper, entitled "Civilization vs. Civilizations," was presented by C. E. Nowell of the University of Illinois. Professor Nowell painted masterfully on a broad canvas. Subjecting to close scrutiny the works of such social philosophers as Gobineau, Pareto, Spengler, Wells, and Toynbee, he upheld the theory of the existence of a diversity of contemporaneous as well as chronologically successive civilizations in human history, as opposed to the notion of a single, continuing civilization. Although he pointed to some possible errors in Toynbee's classification of civilizations, Professor Nowell could make no attempt, within the time limits of his paper, to supply the criteria for a full treatment of this problem which, indeed, was not essential to his argument. The theory offered consolation to some, too, who considered that if our own civilization is destroyed by the atomic bomb, or by some other horrible instrument of modern warfare, another civilization will doubtless fill the breach and *homo* (with more *sapiens,* it is hoped) will not perish from the earth. Professor A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan discussed Professor Nowell's paper. In general, Professor Boak supported Professor Nowell's contention, although he differed in listing the civilizations (Professor Boak's list was longer) and in the definition of characteristics differentiating one civilization from another. Professor Boak also emphasized the interaction of one civilization upon another and the occasional absorption of a declining civilization by a rising civilization without the complete disappearance of the former. The second paper of this session was given by Richard V. Burks of Wayne University on "Conception of Ideology for Historians."[1] Professor Burks confined his treatment to Occidental civilization in modern times. He defined a historian's conception of ideology "as a body of ideas which contains an

[1] Professor Burks's paper will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of the History of Ideas.*

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inclusive interpretation of human destiny and which is accepted by sufficient masses of Western mankind to make this interpretation an important factor in international politics." Ideologies, he added, are more or less mythical in character—mythical in the sense of being an allegorical expression of vital metaphysical conceptions not otherwise easily expressed. He arrived at this definition after a comparative analysis of Catholicism, communism, fascism, and democracy as current competing ideologies, suggesting that in the splintering of the traditional "unity of the Middle Ages" the Protestant Reformation was only the first—and the least radical—of a succession of "reformations." Liberal democracy, communism, and fascism were succeeding "protests" against this unity; in reality, they constitute a struggle over the character of Western civilization, with as deep a moral fervor and calculated cruelty in the secular ideological warfare as ever characterized the religious wars. Professor Bertram Morris of the department of philosophy of the University of Colorado led the discussion of Professor Burks's paper. He questioned whether the term "ideology" was applicable to all of the four examples in the same sense—whether there is not a transcendental quality in Catholicism not present in secular ideologies—and he insisted that ethical and moral issues could not be pushed out of the picture. A lively discussion from the floor ensued, much of its usefulness marred by a patent misunderstanding of Professor Burks's arguments and by displays of emotional fervor.

"Aspects of Modern European History" was the general title of a second Monday morning session under the chairmanship of Lawrence D. Steefel of the University of Minnesota. The principal paper, entitled "Philippe Sagnac and the Causes of the French Revolution," was presented by Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, with four persons scheduled to take part in the discussion, namely, Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin College, R. R. Palmer of Princeton University, John H. Stewart of Western Reserve University, and Beatrice F. Hyslop of Hunter College.[2]

Bert James Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College was chairman of the third Monday morning session, which was devoted to "American History: The Nineteenth Century, 1865–1914, an Appraisal." Eric F. Goldman of Princeton University presented the first paper on "Dilemmas of American Liberalism." Describing the liberal program of about 1900 as "a demand for further democratization of governmental machinery; for the more extensive use of governmental powers, particularly that of the federal government, in behalf of social reform; and for a greater acceptance into the framework of democracy of trade unions, Negroes, and the newer immigrants," Professor Goldman held that American liberals had driven Negroes into Pan-Africanism and Jews into Zionism while, at the same time, they confused themselves over questions of how to maintain a free society while using the national power to effect reform, over the "New Nationalism," economic determinism, relativism, social Darwinism, and the like. In this manner,

[2] Professor Gottschalk's paper will be published in the *Journal of Modern European History*.

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liberalism weakened itself so that it supinely surrendered when opposed by strong conservative forces in the emergencies of World War I and World War II.

The second paper of the session was read by Thomas Le Duc of Sarah Lawrence College, since removed to the University of Nebraska. Entitled "The Abdication of the Intellectual," Professor Le Duc's paper set out "to estimate the work of the intellectual" and "to inquire how he perceived and how he responded to the turbid rush of experience in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era." All in all, the inquiry led the author to present a drab picture wherein the intellectual, terrified by the immensity and multiplicity of change in his lifetime, by the "progressive bankruptcy of moral philosophy," and by the irrelevance of prevailing social theories to prevailing social problems, beat a retreat, consoled himself with "melioristic reform," and essentially abdicated from public responsibility.

The third paper of the session, "Democracy and Leadership: The Role of Parties, 1865–1914," was presented by Samuel H. Brockunier of Wesleyan University. Intended as a "plea for the study of the institutional framework of democratic politics in the United States," Professor Brockunier's paper sought also "to evaluate the American form of decentralized party and to formulate tests of party government in relation to the democratic theorem." It went on to point out that "the test of democracy—how the people get control of the government—can be answered realistically only by an analysis of the operation of political parties." In this operation, Professor Brockunier held that "two main traditions, crucial for an understanding of the basic flaws in American mechanisms for majority rule, have dominated American political thinking. One was the anti-party traditions of checks and balances, incompatible with a democratic system of majority rule. . . . The younger tradition, hostile to the first, may be designated as Jacksonian. . . . This is the pro-democratic tradition of Jacksonian localism, likewise incompatible with national majority rule by a system of party government." The first tradition, dating from seventeenth century English Whig experience ("a system emphasizing mutual distrust" between legislative and executive branches of government), was subsequently cast aside in England; but it has survived all attacks in the United States to block, not a royal control from the top, but a popular control from the bottom. The second tradition gave rise to sectional politics, opened the way for organized machines, and "in terms of party behavior and party organization, sectionalism was simply localism"—a system which catapulted local leaders and local issues into the national arena where they were expected to function nationally. Professor Brockunier went on to review the post-Civil War failures in the effort to create central leadership of the majority party in Congress—by the Joint Committee of Reconstruction, by Czar Reed's "system," and by presidential leadership, especially in the hands of Woodrow Wilson—and concluded that "Democracy awaits the creation of a national party leadership unifying the action of the legislative majority and its administrative agents." This constitutes "a challenge to new political invention." Professor Loewenberg, acting both as chairman and

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discussion leader, pithily summed up the three papers, pointed out their essential agreement on the "failure of liberalism," and concluded, in the words of Professor Brockunier, that "we are given the choice between power and majority rule and power without majority rule."

The fourth session conducted in the course of Monday morning was a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Business Historical Society. Mr. Lewis B. Williams of the National City Bank of Cleveland was chairman, and the meeting was devoted to "Problems in Writing the History of Large Business Units." Three papers were presented. The first, entitled "Importance of the History of the Large Business Unit," was by R. W. Hidy of the Business History Foundation; the second was by Henrietta M. Larson, also of the Business History Foundation, and entitled "Availability of Records"; and the third, by Richard C. Overton of Northwestern University was on "The Importance and Techniques of Research in Railway History." An open discussion followed. Considered altogether, the papers served to emphasize the value of business history as a major and growing segment of the history of Western civilization, touching upon nearly every phase of human endeavor.

"Aspects of Church History" was the general topic of the fifth and last session of Monday forenoon—a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History. Ernest G. Schwiebert of Wittenberg College, president of the American Society of Church History, was chairman. Two papers were read; a third had been scheduled, but Conrad Henry Moehlman of the University of Rochester, who had expected to read a paper entitled "The Council of Trent and Today," was unable to be present. In consequence, William Warren Sweet of the University of Chicago gave the first paper, entitled "Left-Wing Protestantism in Colonial America." Professor Sweet argued that radical Protestantism was the prevailing religious pattern of eighteenth century colonial America because of the influence of radical, non-English, immigrant sects, because of the Great Awakening, because of the effects of pioneering, and because of the widespread acceptance of the philosophy of John Locke. Roland Bainton of Yale University followed, with an account of "Luther's Struggle for Faith." The paper centered about the fact that Luther's discovery of justification by faith in 1514 did not terminate his struggle for religious certainty, a struggle which continued throughout the Reformer's life and was vitally associated with his work. Professor Bainton rejected the psychologists' theory of abnormality in Luther, but he stressed that Luther was possessed of a more than ordinary sensitiveness and a strong sense of responsibility as the Reformer of Germany. Professor Wilhelm Pauck of the University of Chicago was the leader of a spirited discussion. W. E. Garrison of the University of Chicago, who was scheduled to assist in the discussion, was not able to attend.

The luncheon conferences held Monday noon were four in number, three of which had scheduled formal papers. The first of these was a luncheon conference

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of the American Historical Association and the modern European history section. Louis R. Gottschalk of the University of Chicago was chairman. After a brief business meeting and a report on the status and future plans for the *Journal of Modern History* by its editor, S. William Halperin, Michael Karpovich of Harvard University presented a paper on "The Problems of State in Russian History." Professor Karpovich noted the danger, in present circumstances, of exaggerating the degree to which autocracy or dictatorial rule had been characteristic of Russian history in past centuries; he drew a number of analogies between the history of Russia and that of west European states, suggested that the centralized state had taken form in Russia for much the same reasons as elsewhere in Europe, held that Russians had sensed the state to be something alien and superimposed and that in consequence they had often demonstrated anarchistic tendencies, and, finally, insisted that the tsardom had been a changing institution, moving toward the legalism and constitutionalism of the West.

A second noonday meeting was the joint luncheon conference of the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies. Erling M. Hunt of Columbia University was chairman of the group. As Howard E. Wilson, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was snowbound in New York, unable to give his scheduled paper on "Young UNESCO Seen in Historical Perspective," Merle E. Curti of the University of Wisconsin was persuaded to speak in place of Dr. Wilson. Professor Curti spoke informally upon aspects of contemporary India, observing that present-day India embraces many stages of civilization growth, that many centuries-old movements in western Europe have invaded India within the past generation, such as religious conflict, industrial revolution, and nationalism, and that Indians view the United States with admiration for American material gains mingled with criticism unfavorable to American social discriminations.

Third among the Monday noon sessions was the joint luncheon conference of the American Historical Association and the American Association for State and Local History. The chairman of the session was Howard H. Peckham, director of the Indiana Historical Bureau. Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania spoke on the question, "Has the Historian Atomic Secrets?" In a speech enlivened with many flashes of humor, Professor Nichols surveyed the history of Clio since World War I, a history of developing confusion and disillusionment on the part of the Muse. After World War I Clio took up with sociologists, psychologists, journalists and others and came to feel sure that she could tell the truth about World War I and abolish future wars. World War II found her disillusioned, torn between certitude and relativism, branded a "handmaiden of the social sciences," uncertain whether she was an art, a science, or a philosophy. Professor Nichols asserted that history needs to make a new declaration of independence, as it is a division of knowledge with character and methods of its own. It should abandon some large joint projects and explore microcosms—the historical atom. Herein

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lies an opportunity for the local historian who, if he will avoid patternless fragmentation and recognize that even great problems like peace and war boil down to a study of community competition and co-operation, can do much to strengthen our liberties and our moral values.

Last of the Monday luncheon meetings was a joint conference of the American Historical Association and the Business Historical Society. With Charles W. Moore of the SKF Industries, Philadelphia, in the chair, the session was devoted to an informal discussion of the general subject treated in the papers of the morning session, *i.e.,* problems in writing the history of large business units.

The last half-day of the annual meeting was given over to three academic sessions and a "General Session of the American Catholic Historical Association" devoted to business of the latter organization. Of the academic sessions, the first listed in the printed program was a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association. The general theme of the session was "Aspects of Southern History since 1865." James G. Randall of the University of Illinois was prevented by illness from serving as chairman, as had been planned, and Fred Cole of Tulane University acted in Professor Randall's stead. Two papers were presented. The first, by Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina, was entitled "Some Features of the Convict-Lease System in the Southern States." Professor Green reviewed the American prison history prior to the Civil War, noting that up until that time Southern states subscribed to prison reform and instituted such reformed methods as the Auburn system about as widely as Northern states had done. But "the Civil War greatly affected the prison policies of the Southern states. It halted the development of the penitentiary system, and the social, economic, and political unrest of the Reconstruction period fixed the lease system upon the South almost to the exclusion of other forms of labor. The cruelty and brutality which followed has rarely been equaled in modern times." Destruction of the penitentiaries, increase in the number of criminals, and the lack of funds with which to care for prisoners led states to resort to the convict-lease system, while railroads, lumbering interests, and other business enterprises welcomed the opportunity for cheap labor offered by the system. The Republican Reconstruction government turned to it first, and subsequent Democratic governments extended it. In general, the lower South leased convicts to private contractors, although Texas followed a public-account-contract-lease system; and the Carolinas and the "border states" employed modifications of this system. "Outside of the South, only Nebraska, New Mexico, and Washington leased convicts to private industry." The convict-lease system precluded prison reform; it led to corruption in government and in business and to barbarous cruelties. In time, criticism of the system led to its abandonment, first in Mississippi (1890), last in North Carolina (1933); but Southern penal practices still contain "vestigial evidence" of the system.

The second paper of the session, by Francis B. Simkins of Virginia State Teach-

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ers' College, was entitled "Religion and the Everlasting South." Professor Simkins emphasized the essential conservatism of religion in the South despite the impact of scientific materialism and of liberalism. Even Negroes, though they insisted upon separate churches after the Civil War, have conformed to a religious pattern similar to that of the whites. This conservatism, said Professor Simkins, led to a widespread crusade for reform in the early twentieth century, with church and state co-operating to set up prohibition, to suppress red-light districts, to enact or to re-enact a variety of blue laws, and to prohibit the teaching of evolution in public schools. This crusade culminated in the widespread anti-Catholic and pro-prohibition sentiment against Al Smith in the presidential campaign of 1928. Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky led the discussion of the papers. With reference to Professor Green's paper, Professor Eaton suggested that further attention to the attitude of Southern people toward the convict-lease system is desirable, especially the "apologies" of the contractors, the opposition of free labor, the role of reformers, and the place of the system in problems of race relations. Professor Eaton agreed with Professor Simkins that "the Protestant religion had a powerful hold on Southern people and that its influence was continuously exerted toward keeping the South more immune to modernism than were other sections of the nation." However, the discussion leader emphasized the social, as opposed to the genuinely spiritual, appeal of churches in the South, and he held that "the differences in the religion of the North and South is one of degree rather than of kind, and such difference is owing to the predominantly poverty-stricken aspect of the South, its ruralism, and its lack of education." In the main, discussion from the floor followed the lead provided by Professor Eaton.

Second to be listed on the printed program for Monday afternoon was a joint session of the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies devoted to "The Biographical Approach to American History." Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina was chairman, and three papers were read. Arthur S. Link of Princeton University, discussing "Biographical Reinterpretations of Recent American History," referred to the lack of critical and original biographies of American leaders since World War I and the consequent necessity for students of biography in recent American history to center their attention upon men and women of the progressive era and World War I. Professor Link's opinion was that biographers, especially since 1931, tend to be liberals and progressives with few "willing to defend the conservative philosophy."

Marion Dargan of the University of New Mexico presented the second paper of the session, entitled "The Biographical Approach to Teaching American History." Professor Dargan cited the extraordinary success of Carl Russell Fish's pioneering in the biographical approach to American history at the University of Wisconsin, and he went on to cite advantages of the method. The biographical approach furnishes a novel attack upon an old subject, with new books, many of which are of outstanding literary quality, with new and often contradictory points

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of view (thereby supplying teachers and students with excellent opportunities for the development of sound critical faculties), and with an unusually wide choice of topics and types, thus enabling a student to follow his own bent of mind with resultant reading habits which more often linger beyond the classroom.

Miss Ruth Anderson of Norwich Free Academy, Norwich, Connecticut, read the final paper of the session, entitled "The Teaching of Biography in the High School." Miss Anderson's paper was divided into two related sections, "Why We Teach Biography," and "How We Teach Biography." The "Whys" were reduced to three age-old purposes, namely "to develop interest, to develop understanding," and "to teach a lesson"—although Miss Anderson noted many cautions to be observed in the use of biography for education in morals. "How We Teach Biography" is still more often than not a matter of reading assignments, although audio-visual aids are increasing in availability, and, as students' interest is easily captured by them, they are of much value if preceded by proper preparation and succeeded by follow-ups to determine if the desired learning has actually taken place.

Discussion was led by Paul F. Bloomhardt of Wittenberg College and Clyde Varner of John Marshall High School, Cleveland. Professor Bloomhardt noted that Professor Link omitted reference to autobiographies and memoirs, which are often enlivening and illuminating if not critically interpretative; he questioned the revisionist value of such biographies as have appeared of Wilson, Baker, Pershing, Sims, and others; and, referring to Professor Dargan's paper, Professor Bloomhardt pointed out that college courses in biography often exist in departments other than history and that, in the teaching of history, biography must be related to broad processes of history if it is to achieve its purpose. Mr. Varner re-emphasized Miss Anderson's plea for the use of biography as a means of inspiring students to high moral purpose. As chairman, Professor Beale injected three useful questions into the discussion, namely: (1) Is history affected by individuals or is it a result of impersonal forces? (2) Is objectivity really attainable by any biographer? (3) Should not the ideal of any biographer be a middle ground between debunking and hero-worship, with an attempt to interpret a subject and his times to a later generation with different values, problems, and outlook?

The final academic session held in the course of Monday afternoon—and the last portion of the annual meeting to be reported—was a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society for Reformation Research. Ernest G. Schwiebert of Wittenberg College, president of the recently organized American Society for Reformation Research, was chairman of the meeting, and Harold J. Grimm of Ohio State University presented the only formal paper, entitled "Luther's Conception of Territorial and National Loyalty." Professor Grimm emphasized that Luther's political conceptions "lay on the periphery of his thought, for his primary concern was a religious one," and that "all attempts to make Luther directly responsible for the rise of the modern national state,

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whether absolute monarchy, liberal democracy, or national socialism, ignore not only his primary religious concern, but his fundamentally Augustinian conception of the two kingdoms, the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world, both of which he considered to be parts of the *Corpus Christianum,* in which the government (*Obrigkeit,* not "state" in the modern sense) must use "the power of the sword to protect the church and curb evil." Professor Grimm denied that Luther was responsible for the rise of totalitarianism and that he demonstrated any preference as regards forms of government. "That the territorial princes of Germany eventually gained full control of the church was not the consequence of Luther's doctrines but of powerful political forces which had made their appearance before his time and over which he had no control." Luther held an essentially medieval attitude towards territorial princes, with no divine-right absolutism evident in his words. Indeed, "no preacher of divine-right absolutism would have shown his ruler his Christian duties and human weaknesses in such sharp words as Luther did in his contacts with his Saxon rulers." Moreover, "Luther's loyalty to Germany as a whole was no more modern than his loyalty to Saxony." In common with many others of his time, Luther resented papal and other outside interference in German affairs; but this was a negative attitude, and neither Luther nor others in Germany at the time supplied any positive force strong enough to overcome the particularism of German princes or to create a unified German state. Luther was consistently loyal to the emperor, though he deplored the latter's "evil advisers"; and while Luther often spoke of the German need for a great leader, his words do not add up to any *Führer* concept, and "there is nothing to indicate that such a hero should not be a regularly appointed ruler." In short, "Luther's territorial and national loyalty had nothing in common with modern nationalism, for it was at all times subordinated to a greater loyalty of a religious character." Richard R. Caemmerer of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, led the lively discussion which followed Professor Grimm's paper. Professor Caemmerer was in essential agreement with Professor Grimm's contentions. "Important is the repudiation of nationalistic interests in Luther," said Professor Caemmerer. "To the sixteenth century mind Germany was simply a congeries of feudal prerogatives, the Holy Roman Empire, which had much less feudal vitality on its level than the individual territories had on theirs. No thought of the modern totalitarian state could possibly exist in the mind of that century." Subsequent discussion gave rise to a variety of opinions about the influence of Luther in the rise of Prussian statism and the growth of German nationalism.

Viewed statistically, the annual meeting comprised sixty formal papers, two addresses in place of scheduled papers, the previously prepared comments of thirty-two discussion leaders, nine formal luncheons, three formal dinners, and, besides the annual business meeting of the Association, business meetings of at least five affiliated organizations. The sessions were unusually well attended. Again and again the hotel management was called upon to enlarge the seating capacity of

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the meeting places and, even when this was done, many sessions included a considerable number of persons left standing.

No single theme dominated the meeting, it being the intent of the Program Committee to present an intellectual fare as representative as possible of the entire scope of history, without imposing any pattern to the point of slavish uniformity. In consequence, most familiar fields of research were represented, and the sessions, as will be seen from the above account, ranged from those grouped about a unified topic to those loosely constructed around "aspects" of an entire area or era. From incomplete reports available, it appears that more than half of the papers read have already been accepted for publication by one or another of the journals devoted to history. No doubt, many others will also appear in print. By this means the papers presented at the annual meeting will become available to a wider audience, and their unusually high quality will receive deserved recognition.

University of Illinois RAYMOND P. STEARNS

The Year's Business, 1947

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE YEAR 1947

When we met last year in New York, it was recalled that fifty years before the Association had met for the first time in that city. Fifty years ago we met for the first time in Cleveland and for the second time west of the Atlantic seaboard. The other midwestern meeting was in Chicago the year of the World's Fair (1893). The Cleveland meeting in 1897 was a joint meeting with the American Economic Association, and the Political Science Association was "by general consent disbanded." The headquarters hotel of both associations was the Hotel Mansfield. The presidential address was given by James Schouler. The secretary reported a membership of about one thousand. Most of the papers were read by title, and the sessions were devoted to discussions of practical matters, such as the forthcoming report of the Committee of Seven recommending four years of history in the high school, the place and possibilities of state and local historical societies, the opportunities for study and research in France and England, and the study of history by the use of translated sources. "The most striking feature of the meeting," says the secretary, Herbert B. Adams, "was its social success." This was attributed to three receptions[1] and two dancing parties which, I quote, "gave the learned historians and economists a double chance to see the beauty and chivalry of Cleveland." Of those whose names appear on the register of attendance, never complete, six are now living: George M. Wrong of Canada, now an honorary life member; George P. Winship; Theodore Clark Smith; James T. Shotwell; Edmund

[1] By Mr. and Mrs. J. Homer Wade, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Garfield, and Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Mather.

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C. Burnett; and Frank M. Anderson. Professor Anderson is the only one of those survivors present at this meeting.

Let us turn now to the affairs of the Association in 1947, fifty years later.

In my annual report last year I said that "a membership of 5,000 is not an unreasonable goal to attain in the next few years. It can be reached with the continuing co-operation of the present membership." I am happy to report that this co-operation has continued and was given in very full measure "over and beyond the call of duty" by some members, especially several in the Pacific Coast Branch. The result of what all of you have done as members and of the growth of the prestige of the Association and of the *Review* is a net increase in membership of 586, the largest in any single recent year and probably the largest in any year of the Association's history. The membership as of December 15 was 4,813 and memberships have been coming in daily since then. The goal of five thousand members can easily be reached and passed this coming year with your continuing support. The task and the privilege is in your hands. I can pledge the support of your officers in the effort. A breakdown of these gratifying figures shows that in certain states and areas a special effort should be made by the resident members. It will be made, I am sure, when I lay the problem before them later in the coming year. The secondary results of this growth appear in the Treasurer's report. Dr. Buck and the assistant treasurer, Miss Washington, and I all feel sure that $5,000 in each of the next two years can be transferred to our Trustees for addition to the endowment of the Association.

What has been said above as Executive Secretary concerning the increase in membership does not need repeating as Managing Editor of your organ, the *American Historical Review*. Part of each membership goes to pay for the manufacture of your copy of the *Review*, the rest to editorial and other expenses and to profits for the benefit of the Association's permanent funds. I am not sure that all members, especially new members, understand the essentials of this long-standing arrangement. I repeat them, for you are entitled to know them. Throughout the more than fifty years of its existence, the Macmillan Company has been the publisher of the *Review*. It is a half century of amicable understanding in which, I am sure, the publisher finds as much satisfaction as have successive managing editors and boards of editors. There is pride in the good results on the part of all concerned. As publishers, the Macmillan Company makes the contract with the printers, the excellent William Byrd Press in Richmond, Virginia, which prints several other learned quarterlies and has just taken on the *American Scholar* of Phi Beta Kappa. The publisher is also responsible for the sale of advertising space in the *Review*. The copies of the *Review* are sold to us at an agreed price. We receive from Macmillan an annual subsidy of $2,400 for editorial expenses and two thirds of the profits. It is this last item that is flexible and reflects changes in costs and increasing returns when membership increases.

From the summary of the last year's operation of the *Review* (Volume LII) fur-

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nished me by that indispensable person, the assistant editor, Miss Catharine Seybold, I mention the chief items. There was the usual number of articles, and more reviews and notices of books, although these were still below prewar normal years for reasons that go back to production of scholarly books. The delinquent reviewer is still with us but he is overmatched by the great number who not only meet a lenient date line but write with such discrimination as to make the *Review* the chief organ in its field carrying and justifying its name. The eighty-eight articles, notes and suggestions, and documents submitted exceed the previous year's total of sixty-one. Those selected with the approval of members of the Board of Editors, or of referees in fields not represented on the Board and printed in the *Review,* seem to the Board and to the Editor to maintain the high standards set by our predecessors. There is only one universal subject of complaint in the office and by the subscribers and that is the flimsy kind of wrappers used for mailing purposes. Though the war is over, there is still a paper shortage, but I am renewing my efforts to get a more durable quality in the wrapper even if it affects costs and profits adversely.

Let me turn now from matters touching chiefly the central office to the work of the committees. I can precede this summary, which will be brief, by an expression of appreciation voiced by the whole Association of the work done by these volunteer groups amidst other duties that were pressing and heavy.

This commendation goes first and most heartily to the committees on the program and local arrangements for this meeting. The chairmen, Professor Raymond Stearns of the University of Illinois, and Professor Donald Barnes of Western Reserve University, have carried heavy burdens with many exacting details.

The report of the Committee on Committees and of the Committee on Honorary Members will be reported later from the Council for your information.

Of the committees on prizes and fellowships that make awards, either annually or in odd-numbered years, the Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize makes no award due to lack of competition. The award of the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Fellowship of $1,000 will be announced at the dinner this evening. Its full report will be printed. It shows keen competition and a healthy financial condition.

The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund has just sent forth a volume by Miss Margaret Hastings on *The Court of Common Pleas in Fifteenth Century England* (Cornell University Press), and has arranged for the publication, under joint sponsorship with the Committee on Research in Economic History and the American Council of Learned Societies, of a two-volume work by Louis Hunter entitled *An Economic and Technological History of Steamboating on the Western Waters in the Nineteenth Century.* As of August 31, it has a balance of $11,459.54.

The Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund under its new chairman, Professor R. B. Morris, has been active by conference and correspondence and will publish a volume in 1948 on the *South Carolina Chancery* and will send two

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other volumes to press late in 1948. Work on other volumes is progressing satisfactorily. This committee, like others, is troubled by rising printing costs.

The Committee on Business Records has developed, in co-operation with other interested groups, a plan of far-reaching significance. They propose to set up an agency to advise business concerns in the management of their records so that business archives will serve better both business and history. There is a lively possibility of a generous foundation grant to underwrite this project while the joint committee develops its plans to sell such service and advice to business concerns throughout the nation.

The Committee on Documentary Reproduction under its indefatigable chairman, Professor Edgar Erickson, has arranged for joint sponsorship with the Library of Congress of a far-flung plan for microcopying documents in countries that come under the Fulbright Law. The support of many organizations has been enlisted, and committees of scholars in each area have been set up for the time if and when there is a ruling from the State Department that funds in Fulbright countries are approved for expenditure on microcopying documents. The sources available to students of history and the social sciences by such a program will enormously increase. The plan is bold and imaginative and it is to be hoped it will find favor with the interpreters and administrators of the law.

The Committee on the *Annual Report* has been relieved for the present of one continuing problem, namely, the *Writings on American History*. The Council referred this topic to a special committee, and the matter will be covered under my report of Council actions. Otherwise, the volumes for previous years are winding their slow way between authors, proofreaders, and the Government Printing Office. Efforts to hasten this glacial movement simply increase the detritus deposited in the office files. What was said in last year's report applies in general to this year with an added overtone of optimism supplied by the chairman, Dr. Lowell Ragatz, who writes this year from London, not Washington.

The Committee on Radio has carried through successfully another year of broadcasting "The Story Behind the Headlines." This was made possible by the continuing co-operation of the National Broadcasting Company and the devoted labor of the broadcaster, Caesar Saerchinger. In a world growing daily more complex and a public more confused, these broadcasts increase in importance. In the execution of this unique activity of a learned society a large share of the credit goes, and in this I am sure the chairman and the committee would agree, to Mrs. Conyers Read.

The Committee on Government Publications has had a particularly busy year due to its efforts to salvage the historical programs of war agencies and departments from the wreck threatened, or realized, of economy measures. This has involved many conferences and much dispassionate advice. The resolution adopted by this Association about the President's papers was communicated by the chairman to President Truman and, shortly thereafter, he announced a generally satis-

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factory program. Later in the meeting Mrs. Nichols, who is a one-woman committee on resolutions, will present her committee's request for support by Association action.

The report of our delegate to the International Committee on Historical Sciences, Professor Donald McKay, substituting for Dr. Leland, appears in the news notes in the January issue of the *Review*. It is interesting reading.

Professor Roy Nichols, reporting for our three delegates to the Social Science Research Council, gives notice of some interesting activities initiated chiefly by our delegates. One is an exploration of the different concept of time used by the historian as against that employed by other social scientists. A test conference on the topic of the "Development of the City in Society" was held to explore this difference and will be followed by others. The monograph prepared by the Committee on Historiography has had wide sale, and the ensuing discussion has encouraged the Council to go further. One session on this program is the outcome of the monograph on historical methodology. One unexpected outcome of these inquiries into basic concepts and terminology may be that some of us will find that in a fit of absent-mindedness American historians have entered a field hitherto shunned or neglected, that of the philosophy of history. Two committees of the Council, one on American economic history and the one on war studies, are beginning to publish special studies, and thus two valuable series will be available in the next few years.

Professor Joseph Strayer reports that the American Council of Learned Societies has approved a revision of its bylaws which, among other things, reduces representation to one member per society instead of two and adds a quota of eight members-at-large. It has been successful in securing Professor Cornelius Krusé of Wesleyan as director to succeed Dr. Waldo G. Leland. The problems of support and of a clear-cut program in behalf of the humanities are intertwined and as yet unsolved. In one field there is a generous support, that of fellowships backed by a revised and improved method of selection. Our members, who are advisers of young scholars needing aid, should inform themselves about this program.

In the midst of the war I spoke to you with great earnestness on the responsibility of the historian to take that long view which would keep the nation from the excesses and blind passion that war calls forth. With equal earnestness I repeat the same appeal in times that should be dedicated to peace and reconstruction. As a people, we hate the obscenities of war and cherish peace and long for a social and political order where the little people, the hunted minorities, and the self-respecting individual are the accepted concern of a world order yet to be. But the search for national and international security has today, as in the past, its own impatience, its own intolerances, its own disregard for the rights of the nonconformist, its own testing for him who would hold to an ordered justice that knows no race, or creed, or color, and a government committed by all its past to control by the civilian.

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Almost fifty years ago following the Spanish-American War, William Graham Sumner wrote a biting essay on its after effect in this country and called it "The Conquest of America by Spain." After the First World War, as after this, I have wondered whether if Sumner were living he could not write the same essay with a slight change of title and of illustrations. Of course, there must be change and adjustment. Old purposes must be realized in new ways. That is what history teaches, but it teaches with even greater emphasis that the tested values of democracy must not be exchanged for the specious coin of either fascism or communism. As long as we can grouse about our government and not be sent to a detention camp, or be pilloried by our own elected representatives according to their undefined ideas of what is American and what is un-American, America is still the land of the free and of a saving number who are morally brave. Let us rejoice in our freedom to differ over real, not factitious, issues. That is what we fought a war to preserve. Let us not lose in the slackness of peace the fundamentals of our national greatness which it is our privilege as historians to teach. In times of confusion the historian should be *toujours en vedette*.

What I have said is summed up and underwritten in our history by the oft-repeated remark attributed to Fisher Ames. "A monarchy," he said, "is like a merchantman. You get on board and ride the wind and tide in safety and elation but, by and by, you strike a reef and go down. But democracy is like a raft. You never sink, but damn it, your feet are always in the water." There is, may I add, no necessity to let demagogues and superpatriots keep us wet up to our necks, and historians at least should never let their heads get under.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL CLEVELAND, CLEVELAND, DECEMBER 26, 1947, 2:00 P.M.

Present: Thomas J. Wertenbaker, President; Kenneth S. Latourette, Vice-President; C. W. Cole, A. C. Krey, Ralph H. Lutz, Roy F. Nichols, Robert L. Schuyler, Carl Wittke, Councilors; Sidney B. Fay, former President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary.

President Wertenbaker called the meeting to order.

Upon motion the minutes of the 1946 meeting of the Council were approved as published in the April, 1947, issue of the *Review* (pp. 624–31).

The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held in Washington, D. C., on September 12, 1947, were approved as circulated to all the members of the Council.

Mr. Ford presented a summary of his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor, which included a résumé of the work carried out by the standing committees. (See p. 677 above.)

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Mr. Buck summarized his report as Treasurer, which was later presented at the business meeting of the Association. The budget was approved, including an increase of the subvention to the Pacific Coast Branch to the sum of $200 for the fiscal years 1947–48 and 1948–49. The Council voted that any investment made from income available for unrestricted expenditure should be regarded as available for withdrawal from invested funds and returned to funds available for unrestricted expenditure at any time in the future when such funds may be needed. The vote was adopted authorizing Mr. Ford to explore the problem of making provision for retirement allowances for employees of the Association and to report thereon.

Mr. Ford reported for the Committee on Committees. He stated that a minimum number of changes was recommended but that a considerable revision in committee membership next year was possible. The following list of members of committees and delegates of the Association was thereupon approved by the Council:

Board of Trustees.—W. Randolph Burgess, 55 Wall Street, New York City, chairman—term expires December, 1951; Thomas I. Parkinson, 393 Seventh Avenue, New York City—term expires December, 1952; Shepard Morgan, 18 Pine Street, New York City—term expires December, 1948; A. W. Page, 195 Broadway, New York City—term expires December, 1949; Stanton Griffis, Hemphill, Noyes and Company, 15 Broad Street, New York City—term expires December, 1950.

Board of Editors of the American Historical Review.—Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Managing Editor; Thad W. Riker, University of Texas—term expires December, 1948; Curtis P. Nettels, Cornell University—term expires December, 1949; Lawrence H. Gipson, Lehigh University—term expires December, 1950; F. C. Dietz, University of Illinois—term expires December, 1951; Gray C. Boyce,* Northwestern University—term expires December, 1952; J. A. O. Larsen,* University of Chicago—term expires December, 1952.

Committee on Committees.—Charles A. Barker, Johns Hopkins University—term expires December, 1950; Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri—term expires December, 1948; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); S. Everett Gleason, jr.,* 14 Craigie Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts—term expires December, 1950; Robert J. Kerner,* University of California, Berkeley—term expires December, 1950.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Lewis Hanke, Library of Congress; Raymond J. Sontag, Department of State; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Alexandria, Virginia; John K. Fairbank,* Harvard University; Geroid Robinson,* Columbia University.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Vernon J. Puryear, 647 D Street,

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Davis, California, chairman; Clarence H. Matterson, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa; Sidney Painter,* the Johns Hopkins University.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Sherman Kent, Yale University, chairman; C. V. Easum, University of Wisconsin; Howard M. Ehrmann,* University of Michigan.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon, chairman; Lawrence Harper, University of California at Berkeley; Bell I. Wiley, Louisiana State University.

Committee on the James Hazen Hyde Prize.—Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, chairman; John B. Wolf, University of Minnesota; Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University; Joseph M. Carrière,* University of Virginia.

Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.—Lowell J. Ragatz, George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, The National Archives (ex officio); Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress (ex officio); Philip Hamer, The National Archives.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.—Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College; Philip Davidson, Vanderbilt University; Henrietta Larson,* Forest Hills, New York.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, chairman; Samuel H. Brockunier, jr., Wesleyan University; Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Grace A. Cockroft, Skidmore College; Chester W. Clark, Washington, D. C.; George Howe, Washington, D. C.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Richard B. Morris, Columbia University, chairman; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Mark D. Howe, Harvard University; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, 744 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey; Zechariah Chafee, jr., Harvard University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; George Haskins, University of Pennsylvania Law School; William B. Hamilton, Duke University.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Robert L. Schuyler, Columbia University, chairman—term expires December, 1949; Tyler Dennett, Hague, New York—term expires December, 1948; Merle Curti,* University of Wisconsin—term expires December, 1950.

Committee on Business Records.—Thomas C. Cochran, New York University, chairman; William D. Overman, 302 East Catawba Avenue, Akron, Ohio; Oliver W. Holmes, The National Archives; Lewis Atherton, University of

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Missouri; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Herbert O. Brayer, Colorado State Museum; Richard Overton, Northwestern University; Arthur H. Cole, Harvard University.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Frank J. Klingberg, University of California, Los Angeles; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University; Louis Knott Koontz, University of California, Los Angeles; Troyer Anderson, Hunter College; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley.

Committee on Manuscripts.—Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, chairman; Lester J. Cappon, Colonial Williamsburg; Wendell H. Stephenson, Tulane University; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Howard Peckham, Indiana Historical Bureau; Francis English, Western Historical Manuscript Collection; Everett E. Edwards, 8606 Jefferson Street, Bethesda, Maryland.

Committee on Government Publications.—Jeannette P. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; Bernard Mayo, University of Virginia; Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University.

Delegates of the American Historical Association.—American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies in Rome: Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College. *American Council of Learned Societies:* C. W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University—term expires December, 1948; Joseph Strayer, Princeton University—term expires December, 1950. *Representative on American Year Book Supervisory Board:* Thomas C. Cochran, Washington Square College, New York University. *International Committee on Historical Sciences:* Donald C. McKay,* Harvard University; Samuel Flagg Bemis,* Yale University. (William L. Langer, Harvard University, A. L. Burt, University of Minnesota, Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, alternates.) *Representative on the National Parks Association Board:* Carl Bridenbaugh, Colonial Williamsburg—term expires May, 1950. *Representatives on Social Education:* Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester McArthur Destler, Connecticut College. *Social Science Research Council:* Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1950; Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University—term expires December, 1948; Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri—term expires December, 1949. *National Historical Publications Commission:* Dumas Malone, Columbia University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex.

Upon Mr. Ford's suggestion that the number to serve on the Committee of Committees be increased from three to five, the Council approved the nomination of two additional members—S. Everett Gleason and Robert J. Kerner. The Coun-

*New member this year.

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cil also voted that the Committee on Committees set terms of office where deemed advisable.

Mr. Ford next reported for the Committee on Honorary Members. The committee decided to limit the number of honorary members at any one time to fifteen, and, consequently, whatever number the committee may nominate, not more than two would normally be chosen. Three nominees were presented to the Council for consideration—Dr. Vicente Lecuna of Caracas, Dr. Pierre Renouvin of France, and Dr. Friedrich Meinecke of Germany. The qualifications of each were discussed and in view of the fact that these candidates were strongly recommended, the Council unanimously approved the nomination of all three candidates. It was suggested that, in the future, consideration for honorary membership be given to those who were not so far advanced in years and yet have achieved distinction either in historical writing, or in editorial activities, or in the organzation and administration of historical studies and research.

The Council next took up the resolutions offered by the Conference on Far Eastern History and submitted by Professor John K. Fairbank of Harvard that a permanent committee be established to develop research and teaching in that area. The Council felt that work in this area and many other areas that are now becoming significant in relation to American and world history should be encouraged. It hesitated to enter on a program of establishing permanent committees for what would evidently be a considerable number of areas. The Council preferred to see the scholars interested in each of these groups follow the precedents of informal conferences, which have had such happy results in the past in giving a place and an emphasis in our programs and sessions to these fields.

Mr. Ford brought to the attention of the Council a communication from Mr. Earle W. Newton concerning a proposal for the organization of a permanent conference on New England history to be sponsored jointly by the American Association for State and Local History, the New England Council, and the American Historical Association. As the Council had no objection to the formation of such a group, there was no further discussion.

Mr. Ford next presented the resolution submitted by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker that the Association recommend to the Secretary of State that a national member of the United States on the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History be appointed as soon as possible. This national member should be a historian of established reputation and familiarity with the history and historians of Latin America. Upon motion duly made and seconded, the resolution was unanimously approved for transmission to the Secretary of State.

The problem presented by the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund concerning subventions from authors was next discussed. The committee requested advice as to whether they should accept subventions from outside sources to publish manuscripts they select. It was the view of the Council that if an author

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wishes to make a contribution toward publication and if the committee has already found the publication worth while, there is no objection to the committee's acceptance of such subventions from authors or others.

Mr. Ford reported for the Special Committee on *Writings on American History* (Dr. Luther Evans, chairman, and Professor John Krout and Dr. Stanley Pargellis). The plan submitted involves collaboration with the Library of Congress, the proposed budget of which is to cover a seven-year gap from 1941 to 1947, and current volumes prepared to cover the years 1948 to 1950. The estimated cost of this project is $129,693.24. A brief discussion ensued during which it was suggested that foundations be appealed to for the initial sum, but Mr. Ford thought that this would not be agreeable to the foundations. It was felt, however, that the problem could better be handled by the Library of Congress. The Council then authorized Mr. Ford to inform the Library that the Association approves the proposals set forth by Dr. Luther Evans in his report but that the Council found no immediate solution to the budget proposed. Such a sum as mentioned could not be obtained through an increase of the congressional allotment but would have to be raised from private sources.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, Dr. Roy F. Nichols was unanimously re-elected delegate to the Social Science Research Council for the years 1948–50.

Mr. Ford, as Managing Editor of the *Review,* nominated Professor J. A. O. Larsen of the University of Chicago to succeed Professor M. L. W. Laistner of Cornell University and Professor Gray C. Boyce of Northwestern University to succeed Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota on the Board of Editors. The Council approved these nominations.

The Council next reviewed the budget of *Social Education* and the vita of the new editor, Dr. Lewis Paul Todd. After a brief discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the budget as presented and to approve the appointment of Dr. Todd as the new editor of *Social Education* to succeed Professor Erling Hunt.

Mr. Ford called for the nomination of new members to serve on the Executive Committee, which is to be composed of three members near Washington from the Council in addition to ex officio members, the Treasurer, and Executive Secretary. The outgoing President, if he is available, is to serve as chairman. By unanimous vote the Council elected Professors Sidney B. Fay, Kenneth S. Latourette, and C. W. Cole as new members of the Executive Committee to act with the Executive Secretary and Treasurer. Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker was made chairman of the committee.

The Council next took up for consideration the composition of the Finance Committee. It was voted to elect Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker (chairman of the Executive Committee) to act with the Executive Secretary and the Treasurer.

Dr. Ralph Lutz of Stanford University, presented a summary of the report of the Pacific Coast Branch. Attention was brought to the considerable increase in

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membership, due in large measure to the efforts of Professor Robert Kerner, president of the Branch. Consideration was given to the proposed revision of the constitution of the Branch. The question arose of proportion of annual dues to be remitted to the Pacific Coast Branch as an annual subvention which was included in the proposed constitution. The Council agreed that the subvention should be increased to $200 rather than based on a proportion of annual dues. Another change in the proposed constitution concerned the right of the delegate of the Branch to sit and participate (without vote) in all meetings of the Council of the Association. The Council was of the opinion that the wording of the constitution should be changed so as to read, "The Council shall be requested to invite the delegate to sit in at the meetings." After this discussion it was moved that the proposed constitution of the Pacific Coast Branch, after it has been acted upon by the Branch, be referred to the Executive Committee of the Association with the power to approve it on behalf of the Council. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Mr. Ford next submitted for consideration the resolutions proposed by Mr. Ralph Guinness of the F. K. Lane High School in Brooklyn: (a) to appoint a committee on "accuracy and scholarship of history textbooks now used in the schools of the United States"; (b) to participate in a joint committee with other learned societies "as a basic step in education for peace and the change of public opinion to induce institutional and psychological changes to remove the causes of war." After due consideration of these resolutions, the Council felt that the examination of textbooks was outside the function of the Association and was more properly the responsibility of the authors, publishers, and users of such texts in the public school systems of the United States. The Council also felt that there were now many agencies and groups working toward the education for peace and the removal of causes of war, and that this was an interest already represented in the program of UNESCO and could be more properly referred to the American Advisory Committee of this international body.

The resolution of Professor Howard K. Beale was next discussed. This resolution called for the appointment of a committee to study the problem of the arrangement in archival depositories of manuscripts and papers for the period since the Civil War. After a brief discussion, it was moved and seconded that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Manuscripts for further study and report.

The Council proceeded to the consideration of the place and date of the 1948 meeting to be held in Washington, D. C. Mr. Ford read a communication from Professor John Hicks of the University of California recommending that dates of the annual meeting be changed to the last three days of the year. On motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously voted that the dates of the 1948 meeting be Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, December 28, 29, and 30 and that the meeting be held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C. Attention

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was called to the 1949 meeting to be held in Boston, this decision having been reached at the Council meeting in 1946. It was voted to approve the Stevens Hotel in Chicago as headquarters for the convention in 1950.

Dean Elmer Kayser of George Washington University was chosen chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, and Professor Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University was chosen chairman of the Program Committee for the 1948 meeting.

A brief discussion followed concerning the communication of Dr. Samuel E. Morison suggesting that professional historians keep up political contacts more than they do at present. No action was taken on this matter.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the Council unanimously approved the revival of the Committee on Resolutions. Resolutions are to be drawn up to express the appreciation of the Association to the various committees and agencies responsible for the efficient handling of the problems involved in the assembling of a large convention. Professors Roy F. Nichols (chairman), A. C. Krey, and President Charles W. Cole were appointed to serve on this committee.

There being no further business, the Council adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL CLEVELAND, DECEMBER 28, 1947, 4:30 P.M.

President Thomas J. Wertenbaker called the meeting to order with some three hundred or more members present. It was unanimously voted to approve the minutes of the last meeting as printed in the April, 1947, issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 631–34).

Mr. Ford read his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 677 ff. above.)

The Treasurer, Mr. Buck, presented a summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members. The motion was made and passed to accept the report and to place it on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1947.)

A motion was made from the floor and seconded that the Council consider the possibility of using available unrestricted funds for the publication of monographs. The motion was referred to the Council for consideration.

By unanimous vote, Mr. Thomas I. Parkinson was re-elected to the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Ford next reported briefly on necrology, pointing out that a total of forty-seven deaths had been recorded since December, 1946.

Dr. Stanley Pargellis, in the absence of the chairman, Professor F. Lee Benns, gave the report of the Nominating Committee. Mention was made of the tear sheets included in the April issues of the *Review* for 1946 and 1947 which

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provided a convenient way for members to make suggestions to the Nominating Committee of persons regarded as worthy of consideration for nomination as officers of the Association. It was pointed out that in 1945 the number of members who sent in suggestions was 6, in 1946 it was 67, in 1947 it was 127. This showed an increasing interest on the part of members in this method of making suggestions. However, no real consensus has ever resulted in regard to possible nominees. The committee this year received 86 different suggestions for the vice-presidency, 227 for filling the two positions on the Council, and 230 for filling the two positions on the Nominating Committee. In the election this year 1,335 ballots were received. These came from the District of Columbia, from every state in the Union except Nevada, and from Cuba, Hawaii, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and England. As a result of the votes cast, the committee announced the election of the following:

Members of the Council—Professor Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Paul Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin.

Members of the Nominating Committee—Professor M. M. Knappen of Michigan State University and Dr. Jeannette P. Nichols of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

For the presidency of the Association for the year 1948, the committee nominated Professor Kenneth S. Latourette; for the vice-presidency, it nominated Professor Conyers Read; and for the office of Treasurer, it nominated Dr. Solon J. Buck. On motion these nominees were unanimously elected.

Mr. Ford reported on the following actions taken by the Council at its meeting: The report of the Committee on Committees; the report of the Special Committee to study *Writings on American History;* the election as delegate of Dr. Roy F. Nichols to the Social Science Research Council; the recommendation of a delegate to Mexico City in attendance on the History Committee of the Pan American Institute on Geography and History; the membership of the Executive Committee; new members of the Board of Editors; place and time of the 1948 meeting; the approval of the *Social Education* budget and its new editor; the resolution presented by the Conference on Far Eastern History; the resolutions submitted by Mr. Ralph Guinness.

Professor Ralph H. Lutz next presented the report of the Pacific Coast Branch.

Dr. Jeannette P. Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications, submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association express its approval of two developments in the research and publication policy of the State Department. It commends the initiative of the Department in undertaking, in co-operation with the French and British governments, a scholarly publication of the German diplomatic papers of 1919 to 1945; it commends also publication of the initial volume of records on the Paris Conference of 1946, as suggested last year by this Association, and the publication of other, similar volumes of source materials.

Resolved, That the American Historical Association express its great regret at three backward trends. It deplores the sixteen-year lag in the "Foreign Relations"

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series, which appears to be indefinitely delayed at the 1932 stage; it regrets that our foreign policies are not more substantially documented before publication of personal reminiscences in popularized form; and it strongly urges Congress to make possible a publication program adequate for both scholars and the general public now, when intelligent grasp of foreign policy is so essential, and when the program is suffering badly from the drastic cuts made at the last session.

Resolved, That the American Historical Association endorse the principle of co-operation between graduate faculties and the research and publication officials of executive departments of the government, to the end of expanding the use of state papers in scholarly work.

Resolved, That the American Historical Association recognizes the importance of the collections and services of the Library of Congress and the National Archives for the purposes of present and future historical research and consequently urges that the Library and the Archives be given appropriations adequate for maintaining their unique positions as the principal scholarly centers in the United States.

It was unanimously voted to accept the resolutions as submitted.

The following resolution was submitted by Dr. Roy F. Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS the American Historical Association has been very graciously entertained by its friends in the city of Cleveland quite in the spirit of the hospitality enjoyed on former visits in 1897 and 1919, and

WHEREAS, it is always a privilege to record an expression of appreciation for the efficient and courteous handling of the many problems which the assembling of a large convention always thrusts upon its hosts: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Association by this means tenders its thanks to Western Reserve University, John Carroll University, the Case Institute of Technology, the Western Reserve Historical Society, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Cleveland Public Library, the daily press of Cleveland, namely, the Cleveland *News,* the Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* the Cleveland *Press,* to the management of the Hotel Cleveland, particularly to Mr. Elmore Bacon, jr., to Professor Raymond P. Stearns and the other associates on the Program Committee, to Professor Donald G. Barnes, chairman, Professor John H. Stewart, treasurer, and their associates on the Committee on Local Arrangements. The Association orders these resolutions to be spread upon its minutes and copies to be sent to those who have so effectively contributed to the success of this annual meeting.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, these resolutions were unanimously approved.

At a call for other business, Professor Conyers Read, chairman of the Radio Committee, presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association learns with deep regret that the radio program known as "The Story Behind the Headlines," which represented the joint efforts of the NBC and the American Historical Association to present the historical background of the news, is to be discontinued; and be it further

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Resolved, That the American Historical Association expresses its gratitude to the NBC not only for its generous support of this program but more especially for the complete freedom which it has extended to the historians to present the truth as they see it; and be it further . .

Resolved, That the American Historical Association recognizes the importance of this radio program and directs its Radio Committee to make every effort to continue it.

By unanimous vote, these resolutions were approved.

Another resolution was presented by Mr. Ralph Guinness of the same general purport as those considered by the Council (see p. 688). After a brief discussion, the Association decided to refer this resolution to the Executive Committee for consideration.

As there was no further business, Professor Frank M. Anderson moved that the meeting adjourn.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The fortieth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held under the auspices of the University of California at Berkeley, on January 1-3, 1948. The total registration for the meeting was 204.

The program was arranged by a committee under Brainerd Dyer of the University of California, Los Angeles, as chairman. Local arrangements were made by a committee with John J. Van Nostrand of the University of California, Berkeley, as chairman.

The meeting opened on the evening of January 1, 1948, with an informal reception in the International House, University of California. All the subsequent sessions took place in the International House.

On the morning of January 2, there were two concurrent sessions, one devoted to modern European history, and the other to Latin-American history. In the former of these, of which W. Henry Cooke of the Claremont Graduate School was chairman, papers were presented by Dorothy L. Thompson of Stanford University on "The Czechs between France and Russia, 1867"; by Arthur Kogan of Reed College on "The Social Democrats and the Conflicts of Nationalities in the Hapsburg Empire"; and by C. Bickford O'Brien of the University of California, Davis College, on "The Position of the Army in Russian Economy of the Later Seventeenth Century." Donald Rowland of the University of Southern California was chairman of the Latin-American session, in which papers were presented by William H. Dusenberry of the University of California, Los Angeles, on "Labor Legislation concerning the Wool Industry in Sixteenth-Century New Spain"; Theodore E. Treutlein of San Francisco State College on "The Influence of Sea

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Power on the Latin American Wars of Independence"; and by Osgood Hardy of Occidental College on "British Nitrates and the Balmaceda Revolution."

At luncheon on January 2, Frank J. Klingberg of the University of California, Los Angeles, presided, and papers were presented by Captain John B. Heffernan, U.S.N. of the Office of Naval History, U. S. Navy Department, on "The Sources of the Naval History of the United States in World War II," and by Samuel E. Morison of Harvard University on "The Battle of Midway."

One of the afternoon sessions of January 2 was devoted to the history of Great Britain. George H. Guttridge of the University of California, Berkeley, acted as chairman. Arthur J. Marder of the University of Hawaii read a paper on "Winston Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty, 1911–1915"; Benjamin Sacks of the University of New Mexico read a paper on "J. Ramsay MacDonald, Sectarianism and Elementary Education"; and Francis H. Herrick of Mills College read a paper on "Research in Recent British History: Problems and Possibilities." Dan E. Clark of the University of Oregon acted as chairman of the other session on the afternoon of January 2, which was on the history of western America. The following papers were read: "The Diocese of Walla Walla, 1846–1853" by W. L. Davis of Gonzaga University; "Douglas, Arizona" by Glenn S. Dumke of Occidental College; and "John W. North and the Nevada Courts under Lincoln" by Austin E. Hutcheson of the University of Nevada.

In the late afternoon of January 2, those attending the meeting were guests of Phi Alpha Theta, history honor society at the University of California, at a reception.

On the evening of January 2, there was a joint dinner of the Pacific Coast Branch with the California Historical Society and the California State Historical Association. President Anson Blake of the California Historical Society presided. Following the dinner Aubrey Neasham, Regional Historian, National Park Service, spoke on "The California Centennials and Historical Archaeology"; Owen C. Coy of the California State Historical Association and the University of Southern California spoke on "The Legacy of '49"; and Joseph R. Knowland, chairman of the State-Wide Centennial Celebrations Committee, spoke on "Plans for California's Approaching Centennial Celebrations."

There were two simultaneous sessions on the morning of January 3. For that on ancient and medieval history, Quirinus Breen of the University of Oregon was chairman. In it Truesdell S. Brown of the University of California, Los Angeles, presented a paper on "Callisthenes and Alexander"; R. H. Jones of Reed College presented a paper on "The Re-evaluation of the Role of John of Gaunt in English Politics"; and S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado presented a paper on "Learning at the Court of Charles IV." The other session was devoted to "Theory and Practice in Historical Study: An Evaluation of the Report of the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Historiography." David Harris of Stanford University was chairman; George W. Tanham of the California Institute

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of Technology acted as rapporteur; E. W. Strong of the University of California, Berkeley, and W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington presented papers; and Walton E. Bean of the University of California, Berkeley, and Richard W. Van Alstyne of the University of Southern California participated in prepared discussion.

Following luncheon on January 3, the annual business meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch was held, with President Robert J. Kerner in the chair. The secretary-treasurer, managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review,* the business manager of the *Pacific Historical Review,* and the chairman of the General Committee on Membership presented reports. President Kerner gave a summary of the report of Ralph H. Lutz, the delegate of the Pacific Coast Branch to the meeting of the American Historical Association. The following awards were announced: American History, equal credit to "Presents to Indians along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748–1763" by Wilbur R. Jacobs, and "Thomas Pownall: An Early Champion of Anglo-American Cooperation" by John A. Schutz; European History, "German Opinion of the United States during the 1916 Submarine Crisis" by Henry F. McCreery; Pacific History, no award.

The Committee on Resolutions consisting of Frank H. Garver (chairman), Howard A. Hubbard, and Arthur J. Marder, presented resolutions expressing the appreciation of the attending members to the institutions and individuals who, by their hospitality and services, had contributed to the success of the meeting. The resolutions were unanimously approved.

The Committee on Nominations consisting of Herbert E. Bolton (chairman), Dan E. Clark, Dorothy O. Johansen, and George H. Knoles, reported the following nominations which were approved unanimously: president, Frank J. Klingberg, University of California, Los Angeles; vice-president, Carl F. Brand, Stanford University; secretary-treasurer, John H. Kemble, Pomona College; council, the above officers and Frederic C. Church, University of Idaho, John W. Caughey, University of California at Los Angeles, W. N. Sage, University of British Columbia, and Theodore E. Treutlein, San Francisco State College; board of editors, *Pacific Historical Review* (terms ending 1950), Russell Buchanan, University of California, Santa Barbara College, Dorothy O. Johansen, Reed College, Richard W. Van Alstyne, University of Southern California; managing editor, *Pacific Historical Review,* John W. Caughey, University of California at Los Angeles; business manager, Samuel T. Farquhar, University of California Press; Committee on Awards, American History, Lawrence A. Harper (chairman), University of California, Berkeley, Osgood Hardy, Occidental College, Austin E. Hutcheson, University of Nevada; European History, Ralph H. Lutz (chairman), Stanford University, Edith Dobie, University of Washington, Alfred Larson, University of Wyoming; Pacific History, George M. McCune (chairman), University of California, Berkeley, Paul H. Dull, University of Oregon, Rixford K. Snyder, Stanford University.

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President Kerner announced that the next annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch would be held at the University of Washington, probably on December 28–29, 1948.

The chief matter of new business was the discussion of the draft of the revised constitution, and the draft of bylaws for the Pacific Coast Branch. These had been prepared by the Council. After some discussion they were adopted and recommended for approval by the Council of the American Historical Association, the bylaws to take effect upon the approval of the revised constitution.

It was voted that the General Membership Committee be continued as a standing committee of the Pacific Coast Branch, the vice-president acting as its chairman.

The president was authorized to appoint a small committee to investigate the financial problems of the *Pacific Historical Review*.

On the afternoon of January 3 there was a single session presided over by Vernon J. Puryear of the University of California, Davis College. The following persons presented papers: "German Opinion of President Wilson and the *Sussex* Crisis" by Henry F. McCreery of the California Institute of Technology; "American Editors View the Peace, December 1918" by Russell Buchanan of the University of California, Santa Barbara College; "The United States and the French Security Problem, 1917–1921" by Louis A. R. Yates of the University of Southern California; and "New Light on Soviet Foreign Policy, 1939–1941: The Gafencu Memoirs" by Henry C. Meyer of Pomona College.

The annual dinner of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held on the evening of January 3. Robert G. Sproul, president of the University of California, presided. The subject of the presidential address by Robert J. Kerner of the University of California, Berkeley, was "The Russian Eastward Movement: Some Observations on Its Historical Significance." This brought the fortieth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association to a close.

JOHN H. KEMBLE, *Secretary-Treasurer*

American Historical Association

Acceptances in most appreciative words have been received from all three of the foreign scholars elected to honorary membership by the Council on December 26: Vicente Lecuna (Venezuela), Pierre Renouvin (France), and Friedrich Meinecke (Germany). It may be added that the historians on the staff of OMGUS in Berlin report that this award to Professor Meinecke, who has just passed his eighty-fifth birthday, created a most favorable impression on both Americans and Germans and was given considerable publicity. Dr. Meinecke's letter deserves quotation in full as a summons and a reminder to all concerned with freedom of inquiry:

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18 Januar 1948

SEHR GEEHRTER MR. FORD,

Die American Historical Association hat mir die hohe Ehre erwiesen, mich zum Ehrenmitglied zu wählen. Ich nehme diese Würde mit herzlichstem Danke an. Es war mir schon in den Jahren, da die Freiheit der Wissenschaft bei uns in Deutschland unter schwerstem Drucke stand, eine besondere Genugtuung, dass mein wissenschaftliches Streben gerade von Nordamerika aus durch mehrere ähnliche Ehrungen anerkannt wurde. Wahrheit, Freiheit und Humanität heissen die Leitsterne unserer Geschichtswissenschaft. Es ist den nordamerikanischen Historikern in dieser weltgeschichtlichen Zeitenwende vergönnt gewesen, diese Gestirne immer unverhehlt anschauen zu können. Bei uns in Deutschland beginnen sich jetzt erst die Wolken, die sie verdeckten zu weichen, aber neue schwere Wolken aus anderer Richtung steigen dafür auf. Es ist Ihr und unser gemeinsamer Glaube, dass sie niemals dauernd den Glanz unserer Leitsterne verdunkeln können. Und es ist unsere Pflicht, durch die Art unserer Arbeit diesen Glauben bei unseren Völkern lebendig zu halten.

Ihre Mitteilung, Mr. Ford, dass Sie im Jahre 1899 in den ersten unvollkommenen Anfängen meiner Lehrtätigkeit mein Hörer gewesen sind, hat mir besonderes Vergnügen bereitet.

Mit den freundlichsten Empfehlungen

Ihr

FR. MEINECKE

The Committee on Nominations will welcome suggestions from members as to possible nominees for President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and two members each to the Council and the Nominating Committee. Suggestions should be sent to the chairman, Professor Carl Stephenson, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. This notice replaces the tear sheet in the *Review* used the last two years. The postal authorities have ruled against this practice. All suggestions should reach the chairman before July 1.

The Committee on the James Hazen Hyde Prize has formulated the following terms governing the award of this prize: (1.) The James Hazen Hyde Prize of $1,000 will be awarded at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1948, for the best study, in the judgment of the committee, of any phase of Franco-American relations by a resident of the United States or of France, or of French political history in the nineteenth century by a resident of the United States, either in manuscript or published within three years prior to July 1, 1948. (2.) Manuscripts, to be considered, must be submitted, preferably in duplicate, on or before July 1, 1948, to the chairman of the committee on award, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y. (3.) Published works in French, to be considered, must be similarly submitted on or before July 1, 1948. (4.) Published works in English, to be considered, may be submitted or at least called to the attention of the chairman of the committee on or before July 1, 1948, and, if requested by the committee, a copy must be supplied. This is supple-

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mentary to a canvas which will be made of such works by a subcommittee consisting of Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University and John B. Wolf of the University of Minnesota. (5.) Authors desiring the return of manuscripts or books which they submit should provide postage or expressage with proper address and instructions in advance. Neither the committee on award nor the American Historical Association can assume responsibility for possible loss or miscarriage of material submitted. The members of the committee are Carlton J. H. Hayes, chairman, Columbia; Joseph M. Carrière, University of Virginia; Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University; and John B. Wolf, University of Minnesota.

The Albert J. Beveridge Fellowship is awarded annually. The deadline for the submission of applications and manuscripts in the next competition is July 1, 1948. This award carries with it a cash payment of $1,000 and publication of the manuscript by the Beveridge Memorial Fund without expense to the author. Applications and all correspondence relating to this fellowship should be addressed to Arthur P. Whitaker, Chairman, Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Fund, 208 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association, for an essay in the field of European history, will be awarded in 1948. The committee solicits the co-operation of members to see to the submission of fully representative numbers of manuscripts and books, exceptional theses produced during the last two years, and scholarly monographs published in 1946, 1947, and the first half of 1948. To allow ample time for consideration, entries should reach the committee not later than June, addressed to Vernon J. Puryear, chairman, Davis, California.

At its meeting in Cleveland the Board of Editors of the *Review* decided to discontinue the document section. Only documents already accepted will appear in later issues.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: Additional microfilm of manuscripts (5756 pages) in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, (Patronato 203 and 204) regarding the so-called "Avila-Cortés conspiracy" in Mexico, 1566 to 1568; five manuscripts, mainly letters from or to members of the Custis family, 1711 to 1837; orderly book kept by Lt. Daniel Disney, adjutant of the 44th Regiment, and others, which begins with his service in Braddock's campaign, and includes his journal of the seige and surrender of Fort William Henry, March 27 to July 22, 1755 and May 17, 1756, to November

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26, 1757; two autograph letters from George Washington to Reverend Jonathan Boucher, September 4, 1768, and February 20-25, 1771; letter from Thomas Lowry to George Washington and Francis Willis, November 30, 1774; photostat of letter from George Washington and Israel Putnam to the Church and Congregation of Woodstock, [Connecticut], March 24, 1776; autograph drafts of two letters from Clement Biddle to George Washington, relating to the supply of forage for the Continental Army, both dated July 11, 1780; letter from Elbridge Gerry to George Washington, February 7, 1781; microfilm of selected items in the archives of the Society of the Cincinnati, mainly correspondence of George Washington and of Pierre L'Enfant, 1783 to 1793; photographic print of autograph letter from George Washington to Benjamin Franklin, on the latter's return to the United States from France, September 25, 1785; autograph letter from George Washington to David Stuart, February 5, 1786; letter from Henry Lee to George Washington, discussing the political situation in Virginia, January 17, 1789; photostat of record of laborers employed by the "Potowmack Company" at the "Little Falls of Potowmack," July 28 to October 27, 1792; nine autograph letters from Samuel Lyman, United States Representative from Massachusetts, to his wife and to friends, February 9, 1797, to January 13, 1800; autograph letter from George Washington to William Thornton, July 14, 1799; handwritten letter to Messrs. Robert Gilmor and Sons of Baltimore, relating to the purchase of books from London, signed by John Beckley, first "Librarian to Congress" February 17, 1802; photostats of letters from Thomas Jefferson to Littleton W. Tazewell, March 13 and 18, 1807; two letterbooks kept under the direction of Major William Potter, commandant of the Western Division of New Jersey militia, containing copies of Major Potter's correspondence, *ca.* May, 1813, to March, 1814; two autograph letters from Andrew Jackson to Lt. Col. George Croghan, commander of the 8th Military Department, April 24 and May 15, 1816; autograph letter from Daniel Webster to Senator Daniel S. Dickinson, September 27, 1850; photostat of autograph letter from Abraham Lincoln to Albert Parker, August 10, 1858; autograph letter from Robert E. Lee to Messrs. McReady Mott & Company of New York, ordering his "books, papers, etc." reshipped to Alexandria, by steamer, as soon as possible, April 19, 1861; additional papers of the Easby-Smith family including more than forty letters from William Russell Smith, mainly to his wife, relating to the Alabama Secession Convention and the Confederate Congress, 1861 to 1864; additional papers of the late Victor S. Clark, economist, *ca.* 1861 to 1944; autograph letter from William T. Sherman to the Commanding Officer, Memphis, Tennessee, describing briefly the first, unsuccessful, attempt against Vicksburg, January 7, 1863; photostat of letter from Robert E. Lee to General E.O.C. Ord, Union officer commanding the Department of Virginia introducing General William H. Richardson, April 27, 1863; ten additional letters and a memorandum of James G. Blaine, October 17, 1864, to November 18, 1886; autograph letter from Robert E. Lee to his brother, Carter C. Lee, December 9, 1865; scrapbook of

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Senate proceedings in the period following the Civil War, made by Henry J. Gensler, including handwritten, shorthand, and printed matter, *ca.* 1866 to 1896; photostat of autograph letter from Ulysses S. Grant to Mrs. T. G. Pitcher, July 12, 1869; additional papers of Edwin A. Van Cise including a diary kept during a tour of Switzerland, August 9 to September 3, 1871; five additional letterbooks of Oscar S. Straus, November 8, 1873, to March 21, 1903; additional papers of Ray Stannard Baker, *ca.* 1875 to 1946 (restricted); two autograph letters from Gen. William T. Sherman to Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut, April 9 and June 24, 1877; one box of additional papers of Thomas F. Bayard, 1896 to 1898 (restricted); fifty-eight notebook-diaries and a small group of appointment papers of Richard L. P. Bigelow, supervisor of various national forests of the California region, *ca.* 1902 to 1936; typescript copy, with occasional handwritten corrections, of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt's diary kept during her trip around the world, 1911 and 1912; six scrapbooks kept by Miss Anna Hamlin relating to social life in Washington, D. C., mainly 1915 to 1925; additional papers from the estate of Dr. A. V. Babine, including notebooks, and an autograph and typescript diary covering his experiences in Russia from March 19, 1917, to November 18, 1922; additional papers of Waldo Lee McAtee, biologist, 1942 to 1947; papers dealing with the first and second surrenders of Japanese garrisons in the Pacific at Aka Shima and Tokashiki Shima, August 22 and 23, 1945.

The Archivist of the United States, Solon J. Buck, left February 3 for a three months' visit in the Caribbean area. Under the sponsorship of the "Exchange of Leaders Program" of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, Dr. Buck will visit Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. He will seek to lay the foundations for more effective cultural co-operation between the United States and these countries, particularly in the fields of archives, libraries, and historical research.

On November 20, 1847, General Eisenhower, with the approval of the Secretary of the Army, gave standing instructions to the staff concerning the availability to researchers of the historical documents relating to World War II. The essential paragraphs follow:

The Army possesses no inherent right to conceal the history of its affairs behind a cloak of secrecy, nor is such conduct conducive to a sound and healthy approach to the day-to-day performance of its duties.

The historical record of the Army's operations as well as the manner in which these were accomplished are public property, and except where the security of the Nation may be jeopardized, the right of the citizens to the full story is unquestioned. Beyond this, the major achievements with which the Army is credited are in fact the accomplishments of the entire nation. The American public therefore should find no unnecessary obstacle to its access to the written record. The history of the Army in World War II, now in preparation, must, without reservation,

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tell the complete story of the Army's participation, fully documented with references to the records used. The preparation of this history does not, however, constitute any reason or excuse for denying to the public immediate access to facts and records, where they deal solely with the operations of the Army, and where the security of the Nation is not involved.

In light of the foregoing I consider it appropriate to set forth as a guide, the following, which will govern the release to the public of information from documents pertaining exclusively to the Army.

The necessary conditions limiting the down-grading of all material on military subjects are based on national security and binding agreements with other agencies and governments. This directive, says the memorandum, "will be interpreted in the most liberal sense with no reservations as to whether or not the evidence of history places the Army in a favorable light."

The Committee on Renaissance Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies has begun a new interdivisional and interdepartmental publication, *Renaissance News,* edited by Frederick W. Sternfeld of Dartmouth College. The section on history reports forthcoming publications and comments. European news items will be particularly welcome. News items and subscriptions (one dollar a year) should be addressed to Box 832, Hanover, New Hampshire.

No people have given more attention to archival and manuscript studies than the French. It was Dom Jean Mabillon who founded the science of diplomatics, and the Ecole des Chartes in Paris has never been excelled in its training of archivists and palaeographers. The Ecole was founded in 1821, reorganized in 1847, and moved to the Sorbonne in 1897. On May 17 of last year the centenary of the School's reorganization was observed in a solemn ceremony. A special pamphlet, *Centenaire de la réorganisation de l'Ecole des Chartes,* preserves the discourses prepared for this occasion by such distinguished librarians and scholars as MM. Clovis Brunel, Charles Samaran, Julien Cain, Charles Petit-Dutaillis, and Marcel-Edmond Naegelen.

The subscription rate for the *Journal of Modern History* has been increased to $6.00 a year, beginning April 1, 1948. Members of the American Historical Association may subscribe at a special reduced rate of $4.75 a year.

The Saskatchewan Archives Board has started a modest little magazine called *Saskatchewan History.* It will appear three times a year. Dr. Hilda Neatby is editor-in-chief, and the annual subscription is fifty cents, to be sent to Box 100, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

The Old South Association in Boston has started a new series of pamphlets auspiciously. The first issue is *History as a Literary Art: An Appeal to Young*

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Historians by Samuel Eliot Morison. A careful reading will profit those to whom it is directed. They can then pass it on to their elders and mentors.

The annual summary of publishing activities in *Publishers' Weekly* for January 24 shows that in 1947 the number of titles in history rose fifteen per cent over 1946, or from 359 to 413, including 68 new editions. Titles in biography went up from 455 to 618. The figures for British production in the same fields show history titles rising from 232 to 234, biography and memoirs from 319 to 439. In the United States, history furnished about four per cent of all titles. Wartime combat histories were included in technical and military books or the percentage would be somewhat larger.

Under the direction of Professor Emilio Ravignani, formerly in Buenos Aires, there has been established in Montevideo, Uruguay, the Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas. Dr. Ravignani plans to start soon several series of publications (documents, bulletins, reprints, monographs, etc.). The address of the Institute is Cerrito 73, Montevideo. Close relations and co-operation will be maintained with the similar institute in Buenos Aires.

A cable from Sir Charles Webster announces that the probabilities of a limited American attendance has led the committee in charge to cut the Anglo-American conference of historians to one day, July 10. This modifies the news note in the January issue of the *Review,* page 427.

According to a report in the December 1 issue of the *News Bulletin* of the Institute of International Education, twenty-seven historians either had already gone or were going abroad during the year beginning June 1, 1947. This number is exceeded only by those interested in the study of modern languages, of which there were forty-two.

The first consultation of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History was held at the headquarters of the Institute in Mexico City from October 18 to 26, 1947. The American Historical Association was represented by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, of the University of Pennsylvania, who also represented the Association at the Caracas Assembly of the Institute in August and September, 1946, at which the Commission on History was created. The government of Mexico accepted responsibility for setting up the commission through its Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia and provided funds for the purpose. Dr. Silvio Zavala, a leading Mexican historian, was made temporary chairman. The purposes of this first meeting were to organize the commission on a permanent basis and to plan its future activities. Since this is an official inter-American body, voting was restricted to official delegates of the

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American republics. Nineteen of the twenty-one republics (all except Chile and Paraguay) were thus represented. The official delegation of the United States consisted of Professor Whitaker, as voting delegate, and Dr. Lewis Hanke, director of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress. In addition, there were also about seventy-five delegates of universities and learned organizations who participated in the discussions but did not have the right to vote. The discussions were focused mainly on the programs of the four permanent committees of the commission which were also set up by the Caracas Assembly in 1946 and each assigned to a specific country, as follows: origins and development of the independence movement and the Congress of Panama (Venezuela), history of the Americas and revision of textbooks (Argentina), archives (Cuba), and folklore (Peru). Questions relating to these topics were first taken up in one of the four sections corresponding to these committees and were then brought before plenary sessions for final action. Other questions of interest to the commission were initiated in plenary sessions or in closed meetings of the voting delegates. The meeting was a distinct success. The discussions were maintained on a high professional level, the business of the meeting was carried forward smoothly and efficiently under the able guidance of the chairman, Dr. Zavala, and the program adopted was marked by realism, moderation, and sound scholarly judgment. These qualities were perhaps most conspicuous in the decision arrived at on the controversial project for the preparation of the "History of the Americas." The decision here was against the writing of official history and in favor of complete freedom of expression for the authors of the projected history, which will be written by competent scholars on the basis of a carefully matured plan to be submitted to this commission and the Institute for their approval at their next meeting (Santiago, Chile, 1950). The same qualities marked important decisions regarding the programs of the other permanent committees, which cannot be detailed here. In all its decisions the commission clearly recognized the interdependence of the history of the Americas with the history of Europe and other parts of the world. Permanent organization of the commission was provided for by the adoption of bylaws, and Dr. Zavala was confirmed as permanent chairman.

The above account is an excerpt from the report of the delegate of the Association, Professor Whitaker. For further details, those interested in this important meeting are referred to *International Conciliation* pamphlet number 438 (price five cents), published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, New York.

The second conference of northern New England historians was held at Dartmouth College on November 1–2. Thirty-five historians attended the meetings from the following institutions: University of New Hampshire, University of Vermont, Colby, Middlebury, St. Michael's, Bowdoin, Norwich, St. Anselm's, Colby Junior, and Dartmouth. The chief address was made by Professor Edward

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C. Kirkland of Bowdoin, president of the American Association of University Professors, on the subject "Adventures on Behalf of Academic Freedom." Informal round tables were held on New England history, on the undergraduate major in American civilization, and on the problems connected with recent European history. The conference decided to make this meeting an annual event.

The department of history of Bryn Mawr College is to hold a symposium in Renaissance studies on April 17, 1948, in honor of the late Howard L. Gray, professor at Bryn Mawr from 1915 to 1940. This conference, made possible by the generosity of a friend of the late Dr. Gray and of the college, is to celebrate the influence of Venice in the period of the late Renaissance on the intellectual life of England and colonial America.

Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University librarian and general editor of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, will make the annual Founder's Day address at the University of Virginia on April 13, the two hundred and fifth anniversary of Jefferson's birth. That date also sees the release by the publishers of the first volume of the Jefferson biography by Dumas Malone, of Columbia University.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its regular fall meeting at Davidson College on October 25, 1947. Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College read a paper on "Crucial Carolina Cartography." Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina delivered the presidential address on "Joseph Seawell Jones, First Native Historian of North Carolina." Officers for the next year were elected as follows: Adelaide Fries, Winston-Salem, president; C. C. Crittenden, director of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, vice-president; C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College and Mrs. Hope Chamberlain of Chapel Hill, members of the council; Dr. Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano observed the centenary of 1848 in the discussions at its twenty-seventh congress, held in Milan March 19–21. Professor Gaetano de Sanctis, an honorary member of this Association, was the national chairman of the congress.

Stanford University will undertake a three-year study of present-day revolutions and their effects on relations among nations. For this purpose a grant of $180,000 has been received from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The study will be carried on by the Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution, and Peace under the direction of Dr. Harold H. Fisher, chairman of the institute and library, and of Dr. Easton Rothwell, vice-chairman.

Through the will of the late William S. Thomas of Baltimore the Maryland Historical Society will receive a bequest of $500,000 for a building. This is the

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largest gift in the history of the society and will come into their hands on the death of a brother of the donor.

Through a bequest of $5,000 in the will of the late Lilian Dodson Larson, the University of Illinois has been able to establish an endowment which is to be known as the Laurence M. Larson Memorial Fellowship. The income from the bequest will be awarded to the holder of the second- or third-year university fellowship in medieval or English history adjudged highest in rank by the history department. The sum representing the value of the award will be paid to the student selected to receive this honor in the form of an addition to the stipend of his university fellowship.

The American Association for State and Local History conferred on the Stark County Historical Society, Canton, Ohio, the 1947 award for its "distinctive contribution to local history."

Sidney I. Pomerantz of the department of history in the College of the City of New York has received a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society to complete a history of the patriot press in the War for Independence.

Through the British Embassy the British Admiralty is presenting to various library centers the original copper plate engravings of thirty-four charts originally part of Des Barres *Atlantic Neptune*. To each center will go a selection appropriate to the geographical and historical interests of the region adjacent to the institution. The following libraries are recipients of selected engravings: Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; John Carter Brown Library, Providence; New-York Historical Society; American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston; State Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia; Florida Historical Society, Saint Augustine; Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans.

Friedrich Baethgen of the University of Berlin has accepted a call from the Bavarian Kultusministerium to become president of the Institut für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde. This is the society which publishes the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. This organization was formerly supported by the empire. It has recently been sponsored by the University of Erlangen and located temporarily in Pommersfelden. By treaty it will be supported henceforth by the three southern German states and located with its extensive library in Munich but independent of any university connection.

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Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes

Roy F. Nichols, of the University of Pennsylvania, will go to England as visiting professor in Cambridge University for the academic year 1948–1949. He will begin his duties in September.

Pendleton Herring, formerly on the staff of Harvard University and more recently with the Carnegie Corporation, has accepted the presidency of the Social Science Research Council. The retiring director, Donald Young, has accepted the presidency of the Russell Sage Foundation in New York.

Carl Wittke, professor of history and dean of Oberlin College, has been named dean of the graduate school and professor of history in Western Reserve University.

Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina has accepted an appointment as professor of history in the University of Wisconsin. He will take up residence in September.

Donald Grove Barnes, on leave from Western Reserve University until fall, is traveling in Egypt, Italy, and France this spring. He will go ultimately to London, where he will do research for his projected book on "Henry Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle."

Arnold J. Toynbee, professor of history in the University of London, has accepted an appointment in the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. He will be in residence this spring.

C. Mildred Thompson, after her retirement on July 1 as dean of Vassar College, will return to her native state of Georgia to join the faculty of the University of Georgia as consultant in education and professor of history at the beginning of the 1948–1949 academic year.

Bernard J. Holm of Washington, D. C., has accepted the presidency of Wartburg Theological Seminary, at Dubuque, Iowa. In addition to his administrative duties he will teach courses in medieval and Reformation church history. He is spending the spring at Yale University as visiting fellow in the Divinity School.

Edgar L. Erickson of the department of history, University of Illinois, is on leave of absence during the second semester to assist in completing the history of the Civil Affairs Division, Department of the Army.

Paul H. Giddens, professor of history and political science in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, has been granted a two-year leave of absence to write a complete history of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana.

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Arthur P. Middleton, of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, has been made a member of the board of editors of the *American Neptune,* a volume devoted to maritime history.

Thomas Perkins Abernethy, professor of history in the University of Virginia, will teach during the first semester of the summer session at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Among the visiting staff of the summer session at Mills College, Oakland, California, from July 3 to August 14 will be the following: Vera Micheles Dean, research director, Foreign Policy Association; Dennis W. Brogan, of Cambridge University, England; and Arturo Torres-Rioseco, professor of Latin-American literature, University of California, Berkeley.

William G. Bean, professor of history in Washington and Lee University, will be a member of the summer quarter faculty of the University of Virginia.

Glen L. Clayton, of the department of history of Ohio State University, has been appointed president of Ashland College, Ohio.

The Johns Hopkins University announces the promotion of C. Vann Woodward to professor of history and the appointment of Charles S. Campbell, jr., to an assistant professorship to direct the work in the history of American foreign relations. Dr. Campbell formerly taught at Yale-in-China and Beirut and saw service in the Department of State.

Robert Riegel of Dartmouth, Paul Sweet of Colby College, and Ollinger Crenshaw of Washington and Lee University will lecture at the University of Wisconsin summer session.

Dorothy Mackay Quynn will go to Paris in September to be resident dean in history of the graduate year in France under the University of Maryland.

John Meng has been promoted to associate professor of political science in Queens College, Flushing, New York.

R. Stanley McCordock, formerly on the faculty of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, has been appointed associate professor of history at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio.

Carlton C. Qualey, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society and professor of history in Carleton College, has resigned as superintendent in order that he may devote full time to his teaching position.

Mary Watters has joined the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library as research editor. She is now employed preparing a two-volume history of Illinois during World War II.

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Frank Freidel of Pennsylvania State College is on leave for the spring term to fill an assistant professorship in history at Vassar College.

Ina Woestemeyer Van Noppen has joined the staff of Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, North Carolina, as professor of history.

William H. McClure, formerly of Case Institute of Technology in Cleveland, is now professor of history and head of the department in North Central College, Naperville, Illinois.

Paul A. Knights was appointed assistant professor of history in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, beginning in September, 1947.

Joseph Schafer has joined the staff of the department of history in the University of Bridgeport, Connecticut.

Ferdinand P. Schultz is now associate professor of history in Bethel College, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Recent Deaths

Winfred Trexler Root, professor and head of the department of history at the State University of Iowa since 1925, died suddenly on December 9. In his sixty-eighth year, and apparently in good health, he was carrying on his work at his office until an hour before his death. The descendant of Swiss ancestors and a family long established in southern Pennsylvania, Professor Root's interest was early directed toward the history of his state in the colonial period. After working his way through Princeton (A.B. 1902), and teaching at a small college, he took his doctor's degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1908. The seminar of Herman V. Ames and the works of Charles M. Andrews enlisted his intellectual enthusiasm for the new "imperial viewpoint" which was then beginning to replace the provincialism of the earlier scholarship on American colonial history. With the publication (1912) of his thesis on the *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government 1696–1765,* a work of much broader scope than the title indicated, Root emerged as one of the most promising scholars in his chosen field.

This early promise was richly fulfilled as a teacher and administrator, rather than as a writer, during his seventeen years at the University of Wisconsin and twenty-two years at Iowa. Under an unclouded urbanity, he concealed an ardent devotion to three ideas: the interrelationship of American history with Western civilization and the debt of each to the other; the need to humanize history teaching; and the maintenance of a high standard of historical scholarship against attacks and indifference. The first ideal, springing from his broader outlook upon colonial history, found its fullest expression in his course in the fundamentals of Western civilization. The second and third were exemplified in the hundreds of students whose minds he opened to an understanding of the value and meaning

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of history, and in the substantial increase in the number of advanced degrees in history granted at Iowa.

Professor Root possessed a warmth of personality and an inborn courtesy which defrosted difficult situations and won him an unusually large and loyal following. The teaching that he loved, and the many administrative tasks for which he cared less, prevented him from finishing an analytical work upon the entire colonial period, with which he had hoped to complete his life-long studies.

Sydney K. Mitchell, professor of history emeritus in Yale University, died suddenly January 23 in New Haven within a week of his seventy-third birthday. He had retired in 1943 after thirty-six years as a teacher at Yale, from which institution he received his bachelor's degree in 1898 and his doctorate in 1907. Shortly after his graduation he joined the group of able and self-forgetting young people who went out to teach in the newly acquired Philippine Islands. Their work was a fundamental contribution to the free republic of our day. As a teacher and scholar Dr. Mitchell followed in the great tradition of George Burton Adams. He made English constitutional history a popular undergraduate course and contributed much to the organization and content of the freshman history course. He acted at various times as head of Saybrook Hall. His own field of research was taxation in early Angevin England. His publications include the well-known volume *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III* (1914). Professor Mitchell's forthrightness and faithfulness in every relationship endeared him to students and colleagues alike. He had been a member of this Association since 1908 and a contributor of reviews of the literature in his field.

Jonas Viles, professor emeritus of history at the University of Missouri, died February 6, 1948. Professor Viles was an undergraduate and graduate student at Harvard University, receiving his Ph.D. degree in 1897. After serving as an assistant in history at Harvard and spending a year in England, he became a member of the history department at the University of Missouri, where he served in various ranks from 1902 to 1945, at which time he became professor emeritus. He was chairman of the department from 1928 until 1938. Professor Viles's research interests were in local and state history. No other born and bred New Englander could more thoroughly have made himself a Missourian. His publications include a survey of the archives of Missouri for the American Historical Association (1910), two histories of Missouri written for secondary schools (1912 and 1933), *The University of Missouri: A Centennial History, 1839 to 1939* (1939), and various articles in the *Missouri Historical Review* and in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Professor Viles served as a trustee of the State Historical Society of Missouri from 1904 until his death. He was president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1933–34.

Charles E. Payne, for forty-one years a member of the faculty of Grinnell College, died on November 30, 1947. He was chairman of the department of his-

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tory from 1925 to 1944. In June, 1947, he was designated Trustees' Honor Professor, a distinction which carried an annual stipend of one thousand dollars in addition to his regular salary. He was born in Canada in 1879, but was educated in the United States at Indiana University and Harvard University. Throughout his life he was actively interested as student and teacher in international affairs. Professor Payne had been a guest teacher at the universities of Iowa and Minnesota and at Scripps College. He was the author, with Cecil F. Lavell, of *Imperial England* (1918) and of a biography of J. B. Grinnell, the founder of the college. He contributed to the life of Jesse Macy, its most famous professor, and to the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He joined this Association in 1909.

George Petrie, professor emeritus of history and dean of the graduate school in the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, died September 6, 1947, at the age of eighty-one. He had been a member of this Association since 1904. He received his doctorate in 1891 from the Johns Hopkins University. His years of service as teacher and administrator in Auburn covered over half a century. He retired in 1942.

The death on February 15 of Maude Howlett Woodfin ended the career of a successful scholar, teacher, and admirable personality. Miss Woodfin was professor of history in Westhampton College, Richmond, Virginia, where she graduated in 1916. She pursued her graduate work at the University of Chicago and gained her doctorate in 1928. She was a contributor to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and author of studies on Virginia history. Her name is best known to American scholars for her work on William Byrd and the deciphering and editing of his secret diary. Her volume supplemented the volume deciphered and edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (see *American Historical Review*, October, 1943, pp. 108–109). Miss Woodfin had been a member of this Association since 1920.

A long and distinguished career as teacher and author in the field of the history of education closed with the death on December 6 of Paul Monroe (1868–1947), professor emeritus of Teachers College, Columbia University. Professor Monroe was honored with degrees and decorations from many lands. Part of his teaching career was spent in Turkey and China. Among the many volumes published during a productive career are *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period, Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century, A Text-book in the History of Education,* and *Founding of the American Public School System*. He was editor-in-chief of the *Cyclopedia of Education*.

Alexander Wilbourne Weddell, president of the Virginia Historical Society, and former ambassador to Argentina and Spain, was killed on New Year's Day in a train wreck, which also took the life of Mrs. Weddell. Editor of *Virginia Historical Portraiture; Richmond, Virginia, in Old Prints; A Description of Vir-*

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ginia House; and other volumes, Mr. Weddell had served on the advisory committee of the Tracy W. McGregor Library, of the University of Virginia, since the establishment of the library in 1939. "Virginia House," their home, and a considerable part of Mr. and Mrs. Weddell's estate now become the property of the Virginia Historical Society.

Smith Burnham, who retired in 1939 as head of the department of history, Western Michigan College of Education, died December 13 at the age of eighty-one.

Henry James, a son of the philosopher, William James, and a nephew of the novelist, Henry James, died on December 13 at the age of sixty-eight. He was the editor of *The Letters of William James* (1920), and the author of *Richard Olney,* a biography which appeared in 1923, and *Charles W. Eliot,* for which he won the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1931.

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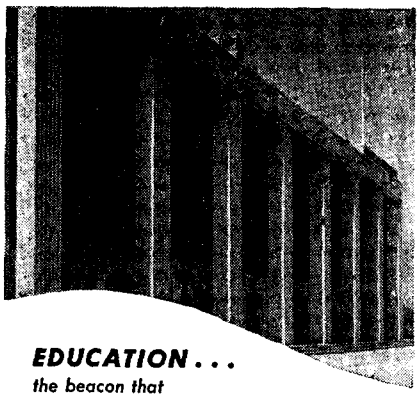
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